Thoughts on the H-Bomb—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

November 29, 1952

After Rearmament, What?

The Crisis in American Economic Policy

BY PAUL A. BARAN

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The Pacific Defense Pact

British-American Tension in East Asia

BY W. MACMAHON BALL

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The Terror That Walks by Day

Why Kenya's Mau Mau Exists

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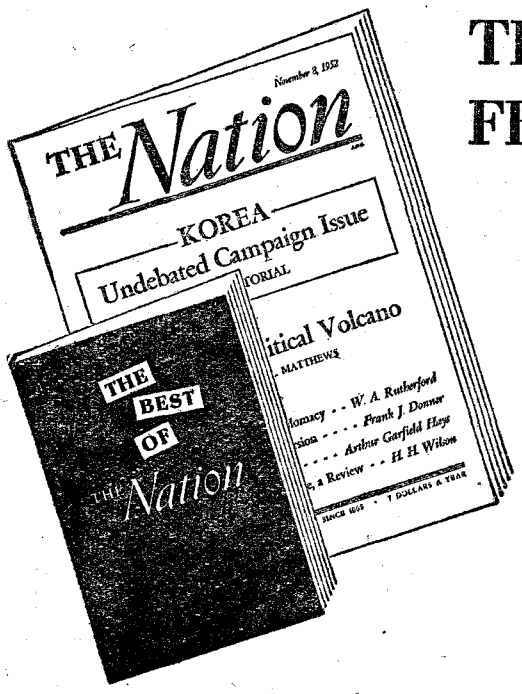

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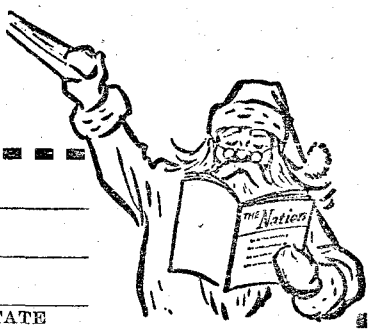

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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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Thoughts on the H-Bomb

THE announcement that the atomic age has now given birth to the H-bomb, said to be a thousand times more destructive than the 1945 A-bomb, must be considered in the light of several major realizations. On October 26, 1952, John Foster Dulles, President-elect Eisenhower's new Secretary of State, and Dr. Arthur H. Compton, in interviews with Richard G. Baumhoff of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* agreed that it is now too late to outlaw or abandon the use of atomic weapons. Doubtless both men spoke in the knowledge that the explosion of the H-bomb would shortly be announced. This was the first time, Mr. Dulles said, that he had expressed himself on the subject of outlawing atomic arms: his position is simply that there is no valid reason to differentiate between atomic and other weapons. On the basis of his personal inspection of war damage in Tokyo, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki, he believes that "the atomic bomb is a much more merciful death" than that caused, say, by the type of fire bombs used in raids on Tokyo. "The whole effort of every military establishment" he said, "is to increase its ability to kill and destroy." Hence the outlawing of nuclear weapons is neither necessary nor practical. Nor can there be any general effective regulation of armament without international control so great as to constitute, in effect, a world government. Since Russia would accept only a Communist world government, armament control becomes impossible. The best hope, he feels, is that the increasing destructiveness of war will operate to discourage war.

Speaking as a scientist, Dr. Compton said that he concluded as early as June, 1950, that it was no longer feasible to exclude the use of atomic weapons even by agreement. Militarily, as he sees it, the abandonment of atomic weapons would place us at a disadvantage in relation to Russia, since in case of war Russia could strike hard close to its borders, while our heavy blows would have to be delivered at "points remote from the home place." From the technical point of view, the situation is simply that possession or even production of atomic weapons can now be so effectively concealed that not even the most careful system of inspection could uncover it. Dr. Compton said that he knew of no way, nor had he ever heard anyone suggest a way, by which hidden stockpiles might be located. Furthermore, work on the use of uranium for the production of atomic industrial power has now gone so far that it would be exceedingly difficult to differentiate between peaceable and potentially warlike uses of atomic energy. "The thought of the Baruch report," he said, "was that one could trace uranium and its use. However, in the years that have elapsed since the report every nation presumably has acquired its stockpile of uranium. It is no longer possible to trace where uranium is mined; it has already been mined, and where it has been put would be impossible to tell." Brigadier General Thomas R. Phillips (retired), military analyst for the *Post-Dispatch,* confirms this judgment. "Atomic disarmament is no longer possible—such is the belief of many responsible officials, both civilian and military, in the Pentagon." Fissionable material has become, in the military view, "just another, and tremendously powerful, high explosive. It no longer only powers a weapon of mass destruction but has given birth to a whole family of atomic weapons"—atomic artillery, atomic guided rockets, atomic anti-aircraft.

In the period since the Baruch report was released we seem to have lost the opportunity not only to outlaw atomic warfare and police atomic development but also to keep the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes under civilian control. Michael Amrine, formerly publications editor for the Federation of American Scientists, calls attention to the fact that a curious forty-ninth state has come into being, a state about the size of Delaware, consisting of the various atomic installations. This new state lies behind "high fences, locked gates, and armed guards" and is for all practical purposes not subject to local control; in effect it has even passed out of the control of the civilian federal agencies. In 1953 the Atomic Energy Commission plans to spend, according to Mr. Amrine, almost $4,000,000,000, of which nearly 95 per cent will be for "secret" purposes. How effective is civilian control of atomic energy when the screen of secrecy is so dense that only a few civilians can obtain the information essential to the making of basic policy decisions? "Secrecy," as Mr. Amrine notes, "presents some very strange problems to a democracy."

Scientific advances in the field of atomic energy have

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outpaced political thought in the last five years and greatly complicated the immediate military problem. Our Atlantic allies will insist now more than ever that the scale and tempo of rearmament can be safely reduced. The explosion of the first British atomic bomb on October 3 will encourage this belief. At the same time, the realization that we are more vulnerable than the Soviet Union to atomic attack—since American industry is more concentrated than Russian—will add to our uneasiness, and this uneasiness will become acute indeed when the Russians announce, as they will eventually, that they too have the H-bomb. In the meantime, our possession of the H-bomb will encourage the preventive-war enthusiasts to believe that now is the time to force a showdown. To these enthusiasts, as Ned Russell has pointed out in the New York *Herald Tribune*, the H-bomb will seem "the pistol on the table" which has finally created the "situation of strength" upon which an ultimatum might be based. If atomic bombs cannot be outlawed—and at the moment there is little ground for optimism on this score—then the only advantage we should gain from using them would be in pressing whatever initial advantage we possess. The experts will say that the Russians cannot be far behind us; therefore the conclusion is likely to be drawn that if war is inevitable in any case, we should take the initiative while we still have the advantage.

All of this rests, however, on the assumption that a negotiated peace is not feasible—an assumption which *The Nation* has steadily refused to accept. Perhaps atomic warfare cannot be outlawed at this time, but that does not mean that limited agreements with the Russians cannot be made or that a general settlement is unthinkable. In a sense, the earlier negotiations over the control of atomic energy may have complicated the problem of reaching a general settlement. On the other hand, each atomic development emphasizes the necessity for reaching political agreements that will reduce the existing tension, since each one heightens the tension.

Aside from a negotiated settlement, however, there is another possibility, and one which permits us to seize the initiative. Paradoxically, the best chance of preventing a general war, in which atomic weapons would surely be used, may now be found in the use of atomic energy as the major key to a world-wide rehabilitation and reconstruction effort, particularly in its use to telescope stages in the economic development of backward areas. Fear of the destructiveness of modern war can only be a temporary deterrent, since fear rules out security. But if a new era of abundance could be ushered in, on a time schedule based not on centuries but on decades, it might be possible to create a feeling of security which would permit nations to discuss world-wide disarmament and world government with some hope of reaching agreement. A partnership in plenty would be the strongest guaranty of collective security against war.

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The Shape of Things

Strategy of Suicide

Whether or not the Indian plan for ending the Korean truce deadlock is adopted by the General Assembly, the fact of American opposition has by now been broadcast to the world. If the plan succeeds, it will be a defeat for the United States; if it fails, a bitter victory. Even as strategy within the U. N. the American stand seems all but suicidal, for we have not only ranged ourselves against our chief allies and the whole Asian-Arab bloc; we have relieved the Russians of all responsibility in case the plan fails and given them the chance to shove in their own compromise proposal at the opportune moment.

Indeed it is hard to imagine what responsible purpose has directed Mr. Acheson's course. One might have thought the Administration would snatch at a formula offering an honorable escape from an impasse which, even while the diplomats talk, is producing a fast mounting toll of dead and wounded. For what is the alternative if the Indian resolution should be defeated? It is well understood at the U. N. that the so-called twenty-one-nation resolution sponsored by the United States was intended to clear the way for a new offensive in Korea should the Communists decline to back down. Questions about the "value" of atomic weapons in the Korean fighting, increased calls for the use of Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa army, South Korea's official demand that the whole of North Korea be "liberated" before peace is discussed—these indicate to most Europeans and Asians the direction the American wind is blowing. In other words the delegations defending the Indian resolution see it as the one available way of avoiding an expanding and probably uncontrollable war in Asia. It is the realization of what is at stake that has driven our usually deferential allies into desperate resistance to the American position.

A "Fresh Approach"?

Mr. Eisenhower in choosing his Administration, writes the *Wall Street Journal* of November 21, is looking for men with "a fresh approach" and "a business background" who will also "make sense to the politicians of his party." Most of the appointees announced so far certainly appear to meet the second and third of these requirements. Dulles and Brownell are "Dewey men": their choice represents the pay-off to the Governor for his energetic if unscrupulous assistance in the campaign. C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors, is credited with swinging the Michigan delegation to the General at Chicago, and he is believed to have contributed heavily to campaign funds. Governor MacKay of Oregon, named as Secretary of the Interior, was also an early rooter for Ike. The Governor is a conservative and an opponent of integrated river valley development.

Nomination of George M. Humphrey, president of the M. A. Hanna Company, as Secretary of the Treasury was apparently a bow in the direction of Taft whom he had strongly supported before the Chicago convention. But the senior Senator from Ohio, it appears, was not consulted on the choice so the desired effect may have been lost.

How "fresh" an approach John Foster Dulles will bring to the State Department remains to be seen. His record as an international thinker is, as Frank Gotham showed in *The Nation,* of October 11, a decidedly spotty one. He has, indeed, distinguished himself by his dexterity in straddling the fence that separates the two wings of the G. O. P., and it seems likely that his agility will be even more severely tested in the future. Our European allies think of him as the architect of the Japanese treaty, which they dislike; the advocate of a shotgun plural marriage for the states of Western Europe; and the exponent of "liberation" of Eastern Europe, an idea which scares them stiff. Thus in "selling" American policy abroad Mr. Dulles starts with three strikes against him.

Political Pay-off

Messrs. Wilson and Humphrey provided the surprises in the present batch of appointments. Both are big-time industrialists associated with supremely successful concerns. Mr. Wilson has got along tolerably well with labor in recent years and has a good reputation as an organizer and production expert. He will have his work cut out in reducing the bureaucratic chaos of the Pentagon to order and in settling the inter-service disputes that add so much to the cost of defense. If the Big Brass begin to call for his scalp, we shall know that he is making headway.

Mr. Humphrey heads one of the least-known but most powerful units of heavy industry, a company with fingers in many pies. He is a thorough conservative, and his appointment will seem a good augury to those innumerable business men who are counting on lower corporation and personal-income taxes. Strangely, it may also be a good augury for the St. Lawrence Seaway, for Humphrey became a strong advocate of that project after the Hanna Company invested heavily in Quebec iron ore.

Herbert Brownell, chief of staff of the Eisenhower forces at Chicago and Dewey's campaign manager in 1948, should not find it hard to improve on the record of the last three Democratic Attorney Generals. Compared to them, he is legally literate and in professional circles has the reputation of being able and highly intelligent.

The most difficult of the appointments to understand, even on political grounds, is that of Harold E. Stassen as head of the Mutual Security Agency. A permanently

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lame duck, he would appear to have little or no "leverage" in the G. O. P. His ambition is quite out of proportion to his ability, and he is notoriously lacking in tact. Altogether this is a deplorable choice for a vital job.

The Judd Case

When instructor Morris Judd's contract was not renewed for the academic year 1952-53, President Robert Stearns of the University of Colorado informally notified the chairman of the philosophy department, who had recommended renewal, of the reasons: "dulness, failure to achieve academic progress, and intellectual dishonesty because of his failure to answer questions about his past political affiliations." Not satisfied with this explanation, the Colorado branch of the American Civil Liberties Union made an investigation and came up with some additional facts. In May, 1951, Judd was questioned by two former F. B. I. agents who had been retained by the regents to "purge the faculty of subversive elements" and declined to answer questions concerning his political affiliations and beliefs. A few days later he reaffirmed this refusal in an interview with President Stearns, although he did state that he was not a member of the Communist Party. A majority of the Committee on Privilege and Tenure agreed with the president that failure to renew Judd's contract did not constitute a violation of academic freedom, but the members were unanimous that the procedure followed by the administration in this case was not "in the best interest of all concerned"—that is the university.

Since Judd did not have permanent tenure, the administration was probably under no obligation to cite reasons for not renewing his contract, but once it had cited them, the question arose: was Judd's academic freedom violated? In a vigorous dissent from the majority report of the faculty committee Dr. Henry W. Ehrmann and Dr. Morris E. Garnsey found that such a violation had occurred, and the Colorado A. C. L. U. agreed. So far as academic freedom is concerned, they pointed out, there is no difference between the privileges of faculty members on probationary appointment and of those with tenure. At the time that the regents retained the two former F. B. I. agents to screen the faculty, *The Nation* warned that academic freedom was endangered. As the Association of American Law Schools noted in a recent report, the evils of faculty loyalty investigations "cannot be escaped by the existence of benign underlying motives such as a desire to clear the university's name from irresponsible charges of being a 'hotbed of communism'. The very nature of the investigative process itself generates these evils." At Boulder no more than at Berkeley was the need for such an investigation convincingly shown. In the words of Messrs. Ehrmann and Garnsey: "We have been told that the investigation has come to an end, but after the evidence presented to us in this case, nobody can be certain whether it is an end without consequences or whether the consequences will be without end." The consequences will indeed be without end if the university continues to retain the services of outside investigators whose reports to the administration are not open to inspection or challenge.

A Clear and Present Danger

The recent statement of the Roman Catholic bishops on secularism and the schools deserves attention less for its definition of the role of religion in education, which merely reaffirms a position many times announced, than for its smearing of those who oppose this position as atheists, tyrants, totalitarians, and by inference Communists. The bishops contend of course that they are not enemies of public education, but in the context of such recent events as the McCarran committee's investigation of the New York schools, the statement appears to be a direct attack on the public schools. For while the bishops insist that the state has the duty "to help parents fulfil their task of religious instruction and training"—as by using public funds to finance auxiliary services for parochial schools—they obviously want something more. The theory of education they outline cannot be reconciled with the traditional American conception of the public-school system. To modify this system to the bishops' liking would mean to give them a share in its control which could easily grow into that "total monopoly of education" which they accuse those who oppose them of seeking.

Dr. Lawrence A. Cremin of Teachers College, Columbia University, as reported in the New York *Times* of November 20, believes the public schools must counter the charge that they are godless, irreligious, and totalitarian. If there is a lesson to be learned from recent setbacks for public education, it is, he says, that the friends of the public schools were ineffective because they were unorganized and failed to rally to the defense of the system until it was too late. The bishops have put the friends of the public schools on notice; it would be dangerous folly to ignore the warning.

Principles for Bases

UNESCO has disgraced itself by admitting into its fold General Franco, the murderer of Federico Garcia Lorca. Another poet, Jaime Torres Bodet, the Director General of UNESCO, surely finding it very awkward to preside over an organization which by this decision has lost its right to represent the world's free culture, resigned—though the immediate cause was the rejection of his budget. Five other members resigned explicitly on Spain.

Torres Bodet's own country, Mexico, by voting against Franco, maintained the high standard that has marked its dealings with Spain since the end of the Republic.

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Mexico was joined by Uruguay, Burma, and Yugoslavia; the Soviet bloc left UNESCO some time ago. The abstentions—Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Israel, India, Netherlands, Luxembourg—were fewer than had been expected. The French Cabinet met on the morning of the vote to decide on its action. While it was obviously painful for France to back Franco in view of the outspoken opposition of eminent French writers and a large segment of the public, in the end it once more followed the lead of the United States. A few days before the vote the French Socialist Party officially declared that it was against Spain's admission, and the International Union of Socialist Youth has threatened to sever its connection with UNESCO.

The decision is shameful not only in itself but as one more illustration of the Western coalition's willingness to sacrifice its principles. To obtain a few military bases, Washington, London, and Paris are prepared to sell out the Four Freedoms. If they feel they must flatter Franco and keep him in power, they should at least have the grace to stop talking about their concern for the survival of the free world.

UNESCO Capitulates

Paris, November 20

After the vote admitting Spain to UNESCO, almost everybody connected with the organization looked crestfallen and ashamed. The majority of the delegates saw the strongest objections to the admission of Franco's domain but sheepishly voted for it as a result of the persistent bullying talk about "democratic solidarity." In vain was the counter-lobbying of the circle around Director General Torres Bodet, whose country was one of the few to hold out against Spain's entry. It is now asked whether the campaign against Torres Bodet, which has just started, will parallel the Trygve Lie affair. The mechanical, speechless balloting in favor of Spain had an ominous drill-room quality.

The atmosphere was poisoned further by a report widely circulated in the lobbies that John W. Taylor, Deputy Director General, had just received a message from Gagliotti, acting head of UNESCO's office in New York, that the McCarran committee had asked the State Department to submit a list of all United States citizens holding responsible positions in the organization. It was also reported that the United States delegation was planning to submit a draft resolution calling on all member states to check on the "suitability," with respect to UNESCO's aims and policies, of their nationals employed there. Torres Bodet strongly opposes this resolution, as he does the dismissal of the Spanish Republicans now employed by UNESCO, but the chances are that he will be overruled on both questions. The vote on Spain is generally regarded as a maneuver against Bodet.

A. W.

Mr. Bradbury Talks Back

Ray Bradbury, dean of American science-fiction writers, began to be annoyed during the campaign when Stevenson-stickered cars were hailed in the streets of Los Angeles with shouts of "Communist!" and Democratic candidates received threatening anonymous telephone calls and unsigned letters. His annoyance boiled over when he read in Hedda Hopper's film column: "Gene Fowler says, 'It's great that Americans have finally won an election.'" So in the best Hollywood tradition he published a full-page advertisement in *Variety* (November 6):

TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

You have won and the Democrats are now the opposition. And so it is time for someone to remind you of a few words that you yourselves spoke during the campaign concerning your fear of losing the two-party system.

I remind you now that the two-party system exists and will continue to exist for the next four years. Every attempt that you make to identify the Republican Party as the *American* party I will resist. Every attempt that you make to identify the Democratic Party as the party of communism, as the "left-wing" or "subversive" party, I will attack with all my heart and soul.

I have seen too much fear in a country that has no right to be afraid. I have seen too many campaigns in California, as well as in other states, won on the issue of fear itself, and not on the facts. I do not want to hear any more of this claptrap and nonsense from you. . . . I do not want any more lies, any more prejudice, any more smears. I do not want intimations, hearsay, or rumor. I do not want unsigned letters or nameless telephone calls from either side, or from anyone.

I say this to you then: do your work and do it well. We will be watching you, we, the more than 25,000,000 Americans who voted without fear and who voted Democratic. We are not afraid of you, and you will not intimidate us. We will not be sloughed aside and we will continue to be the other half of that wonderful two-party system you wailed so much about losing.

Leave that system alone, then; leave our individual rights alone; protect our Constitution, find us a way to peace, and we will be friends. But God help you if you lay a hand on any one of us again, or try to twist the Constitution and the Bill of Rights to your purposes. . . .

Get to your work now, remember that you have good men in your party if you put them to work. But in the name of all that is right and good and fair, let us send McCarthy and his friends back to Salem and the seventeenth century. And then let us all settle down to the job of moving ahead together, in our own time, without fear one of the other, and with the good of everyone, each lonely individual in our country, firmly held in mind.

[*Signed*] RAY BRADBURY

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"Best Chance for an Armistice"

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations, November 23

THE Indian plan to break the stalemate on repatriation was welcomed by the majority of the delegations as a much-needed initiative, since the Korean debate, already six weeks old, had produced new evidence every day of incapacity and frustration. The plan was introduced by Mr. Krishna Menon in a sober and distinguished speech. From New Delhi, Prime Minister Nehru put behind the proposal the whole authority of a foreign policy which has been aimed consistently at preventing an extension of the Korean conflict. He called upon all member nations "to exorcise the spirit of war and raise the banner of peace in the world." The Indian proposal thus acquired the character of a political action, of much greater importance than any previous resolution.

The plan contains seventeen precise proposals for dealing with the prisoners' issue, but it can be conveniently summed up in three: (1) force shall not be used against prisoners "to prevent or effect their return to their homeland"; (2) all prisoners of war shall be released to a Repatriation Commission composed of the four nations already selected as truce supervisors in the draft armistice agreement—Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden, and Switzerland—plus an umpire appointed by the commission to cast a deciding vote in the event of disagreement; (3) the disposition of any prisoners who have not been repatriated at the end of ninety days will be referred to the overall political conference provided for in Article 60 of the draft armistice agreement.

The first question that everybody asked himself when Krishna Menon ended his speech was to what extent his plan was the result of soundings in Peking. Undoubtedly New Delhi had informed Peking of its central idea, though not of the details. The Chinese government, without taking a final position, did not discourage the Indian move; a dispatch from Peking substantiated this. In fact, it can safely be stated that India would not have acted without previous assurance of some degree of approval on the part of Communist China. A New Delhi report in the New York *Times* of November 22 described how Prime Minister Nehru's speech in the lower house of Parliament indorsing the Indian resolution "had been loudly cheered by more than 400 legislators representing all parties, *including the Communists*" (italics mine).

The "timely and constructive" character of the Indian move was underlined by British Foreign Secretary Eden when he spoke on Thursday. Mr. Eden used a resolute and convincing tone, very different from that of his first address. The British Commonwealth of Nations, with India assuming publicly the most active part but with Canada lending its full and important aid, was rapidly taking a position that threw American diplomacy off balance. The question now is to what degree will the open split between the United States on the one hand and Britain and Canada on the other remain open, in spite of great American pressure exercised in the last forty-eight hours. Interesting to watch also is the attitude, still undisclosed, of France and the Benelux countries. The Scandinavian and at least three Latin American states—Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico—support the Indian plan, and Argentina may join them. There is no doubt as to the attitude of the Arab-Asian bloc. The new alignment of states in the U. N., on which I have insisted ever since the Assembly opened, is facing its supreme test.

One fact now being weighed by the delegates in all its significance is the appointment of John Foster Dulles as the next American Secretary of State. Nobody challenges his long diplomatic experience; what worries the delegates is that Mr. Dulles has been the principal advocate of the policy of "roll-back," beginning in Asia. His nomination has intensified the belief that an extension of the war rather than a formula for peace will be the most likely result of General Eisenhower's visit to Korea. Anxiety has increased as the names and records of the other Cabinet appointees have become known. A number of delegations which have hitherto been amenable to the arguments of the American delegation now seem to have decided that there is no time to be lost and that they should vote for the Indian resolution.

There remains Russia. The adversaries of the Indian plan have been anxiously waiting for Russia to put an end to their difficulties by rejecting it. Criticisms in the Soviet press have been played up. One thing should not be forgotten: Russia's fixed policy of insisting on the strict textual observance of international agreements. While the Indian proposal formally upholds the principles of the Geneva convention, it makes certain broad concessions in their application. Therefore the position reaffirmed by Mr. Vishinsky in his two principal speeches will probably be maintained on the Indian resolution. But while not voting in favor of the resolution, the Russians can abstain, leaving it to the Chinese and North Koreans to accept Krishna Menon's proposals. And in case the Indian plan should fail, the Russians have seized the initiative by putting forward a new formula calling for an "immediate cease-fire" and the solution of the repatriation issue by the commission provided for in their earlier resolution.

Thus the question reverts to the West. At the moment of writing, India has been persuaded to make some amendments to meet American objections. But apparently the United States delegation is not satisfied. So the essential thing now is to save the Indian plan from further dilutions which would make it wholly unacceptable to the Communist bloc and finally ruin what Mr. Eden today described as the "best chance for an armistice."

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After Rearmament, What?

BY PAUL A. BARAN

SWAMPED by campaign oratory that covered a lot of ground without offering anything really substantial, fascinated by the fireworks of a popularity contest that generated plenty of heat without shedding a great deal of light, the American public had little chance during the campaign to orient itself in the formidable economic problems that will confront the nation during the next few years. It may be worth while, therefore, at this juncture to take a fresh look at the hazy contours of our immediate economic future.

To see them in perspective, we must recall the historical background of the present situation. When the United States entered the war, its economy had recovered only incompletely from the great depression. It is true that the "built-in" economic mechanisms, combined with the revitalizing influence of Roosevelt's "we have nothing to fear but fear itself," had turned the tide in 1933, but at no time in the thirties was prosperity actually restored or large-scale unemployment eliminated. In the best year of the decade—1937—7,700,000 people were unable to find work, and even the outbreak of the European war with the resulting increase in American exports could not raise employment by more than 1,800,000. Not until all-out mobilization in 1942-43 did the tremendous expansion of government military procurement cause a rise in production that put to work nearly all our material and human resources.

Capacity output and full employment naturally brought a momentous increase in the nation's money income. A large part of these swollen earnings was siphoned off by higher taxes; the rest created a huge demand for all kinds of civilian goods, only a fraction of which could be met. The total output of the economy, together with such imports as were obtainable, was insufficient to satisfy both the government's gluttonous appetite for military supplies and the public's avidity for consumer goods and services. The discrepancy between the value of the civilian goods and services available and the nation's money income, after taxes, resulted in the accumulation of vast savings.

The magnitude of these savings, which reached the staggering sum of approximately 280 billion dollars by the end of the war, is the measure of the pent-up purchasing power that could be directed to acquiring producers' and consumers' goods as soon as peace released productive resources to civilian uses; it also indicates the extent to which the satisfaction of civilian demand had been deferred in favor of military requirements. This deferred demand was urgent and not merely because of the shortages of war time. It reflected in addition the dozen lean years preceding the war—the privations of those who were unemployed in the thirties and who at long last were financially able to satisfy some of their most pressing needs and the neglect of sorely required expenditures on the part of state and local authorities.

Thus the end of the war was followed by an unprecedented spending spree. Not only were some of the liquid assets accumulated by the population during the war spent on clothing, refrigerators, new houses, and automobiles, but the ratio of current saving to current personal disposable income, which had reached the exceptional height of 24.1 per cent in 1944, dropped to an average of 5.2 per cent in 1946-48. Simultaneously business investment reached tremendous proportions. After declining to as little as 11.2 billion dollars in 1943, it climbed to 42.6 billion in 1946 and to 47.6 billion in 1948 (all measured in 1951 prices).

The extraordinary domestic demand for goods and services of all kinds was supplemented by the relief and reconstruction requirements of the war-ravaged countries of Europe and Asia. Financed partly by American grants and loans, partly by liquidation of foreign-owned assets, foreign purchases in the United States in the years immediately after the war markedly exceeded American buying abroad.

The resulting boom rapidly developed its own momentum. To be sure, demand and output declined from their war-time peaks, and gross national production (measured in real terms) in the years 1946 to 1949 was some 10 per cent below the levels reached in 1944 and 1945. But with the bulk of the national product available to civilian users, the country's productive capacity underwent a prodigious expansion. According to an estimate made by the McGraw-Hill Department of Economics, manufacturing industries in the United States in January, 1946, had developed 131 per cent of their 1939 capacity and in December, 1950, 175 per cent.

Even with the help of hindsight it is difficult to specify the time at which this post-war boom would have "normally" run its course. The turning point might have come earlier but for the large net exports made possible by the Marshall Plan. By the middle of 1949, however, there were ample indications that the forces which had lifted the economy to such towering heights were rapidly losing their strength. The restocking process was coming

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to an end. Consumers' spending and business outlays began to shrink, returning gradually to more "customary" proportions. In the first half of 1949 unemployment had reached 3,200,000. It increased to 3,600,000 in the second half of the year and to 3,900,000 in the first half of 1950. The 1949-50 recession might have yielded to a short "secondary" burst of prosperity or might have haltingly degenerated into a major depression—it marked in any case the close of an exceptional phase in our recent economic past.

BUT then came Korea, and with Korea a new wave of spending that changed overnight the American economic scene. Even before the armament drive had actually affected the level of national income, the war-scared public started a run on the shops that caused a spectacular upturn in sales, profits, prices, and employment. In the second half of 1950 the increase in private buying reduced the number of unemployed by 1,400,000. The government took over where the hysterical consumer left off. Spending on all military procurement items, plus construction, has risen gradually from 1.2 billion dollars per quarter before Korea to approximately 10 billion per quarter at the present time—with all military outlays thus far nearly 100 billion dollars.

Needless to say, an expenditure of this size was a powerful "shot in the arm" to what in the summer of 1950 looked like an ailing prosperity. Accompanied by various measures to induce further expansion of industrial facilities—tax benefits to investing firms, government-guaranteed loans, and long-term purchasing contracts—it brought a new spurt of private investment equaling or even surpassing in intensity the post-war record set in 1948. The productive potential of the economy made giant strides. While total manufacturing capacity is now approximately twice as large as in 1939, some industries (electrical machinery and transport equipment) have more than quadrupled, others (chemicals, machinery) more than trebled, their facilities. And according to the latest survey made by the McGraw-Hill Department of Economics (published in *Business Week* on November 1), business is "planning to spend almost as much for new plant and equipment in 1953 as the record amount they're spending this year."

This investment program, once completed, will have created the industrial base for the realization of the military goals of the Truman Administration. No expansion of that industrial base or further building up of the military establishment would be required. Even a journal as fully committed to Mr. Acheson's policy of developing "situations of strength" as the London *Economist* expressed more than a year ago (October 6, 1951) strong misgivings about the scope and speed of the American armament effort. "In large measure," it said, "the present American program is designed for fighting Russia, not for staying at peace by deterring a Russian aggression. Certainly, when one imagines what expenditure at the rate of 65 billion dollars a year, continued for several years, will bring forth, when one hears talk of an air force of 140 groups, it is difficult to believe that it is not being overdone." In fact, if the armaments targets were not to be further raised, if the military machine that would be constructed by 1955 was to be just *maintained,* a considerable *reduction* of government spending on military procurement and construction would be in order. It may be anyone's guess how much it would cost to maintain in the style to which they have rapidly become accustomed an air force of 143 wings, an army of 21 full-strength divisions, a navy with 408 active combatant ships and 16 carrier groups, and a Marine Corps of 3 divisions—the present "modest" goals of the military establishment. There can hardly be much doubt, however, that it would be considerably less than what is being spent now on *building up* this armed might.

While the government's military spending should thus level off in the next two years and markedly decline thereafter, industry will have developed a productive capacity sufficient not only to maintain its present volume of military output but significantly to increase it. In the words of *Business Week* of October 11, ". . . by early next spring, we'll have enough capacity to keep arms deliveries on present schedules, turn out civilian goods at the top 1952 rates, and still have plant and raw materials to spare." Actually there is already excess capacity in the economy and there will be still more when currently planned investments are carried out.

Under such circumstances there can be little inducement to maintain the present level of business investment. In his latest—seventh—quarterly report the Director of Defense Mobilization complains that business men are growing chary of pushing too far ahead with the expansion program. They will certainly be even more hesitant a year from now when in the wake of a spectacular development in all branches of the economy they are faced with a plethora of new plant and equipment, of freshly overhauled productive facilities. Only under exceptional conditions would private and corporate investors go on sinking their funds in additional investment projects. If major technological innovations suddenly rendered much of our existing productive facilities obsolete, more modern and more efficient plants might have to be built, but large investments for this purpose are not likely to be called for in the near future.

Another chance to utilize our existing and growing excess capacity would be offered by a large expansion of consumer demand. It is frequently suggested that the end of the rearmament period may witness a development similar to that in the first three or four years after the war. Hardly anything is less probable. As *Business Week* correctly observed, "The situation now differs from the

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war period. Then scarcities of goods created an enormous back log of demand and savings were high. When the war ended and arms production dropped, cash-backed demand and savings were big enough to launch the greatest boom in history. Today, however, consumers can get all they want of practically anything." Of course, consumers' demand could be stimulated by tax reductions. And as the *U. S. News and World Report* (November 11) cheerfully announces, "Tax cuts, when they come, will not all go to those in the lower income brackets." Tax reductions for the top of the income pyramid, however, increase saving more than consumption.

Even a larger increase of consumer demand than could be reasonably expected would not come near the heart of the problem. The industrial capacity created during the last few years is not geared to the satisfaction of peaceful needs; it is designed for purposes of war. No doubt some of it could be converted to civilian production; the bulk of it would have to stand idle or be scrapped if "peace broke out." To quote *Business Week* of September 27: "For the first time in its history the United States is getting a full-time, national-scale arms industry," most companies of which "now treat their war output as a permanent part of their business." What is true of the outright munitions makers is no less true of enterprises less directly or less exclusively concerned with military production.

IT MAY be asked whether the huge capacity of our heavy industry could not be turned to peaceful uses other than the automobiles and dishwashers coveted by consumers; whether the armaments potential could not be diverted to the construction of schools and hospitals, to rural-electrification and slum-clearance programs. Undoubtedly, it could be. But once more, who would expect the Administration and the Congress elected on November 4 to appropriate funds in any other way but the Taber-Bridges way? *U. S. News and World Report* (November 14) provides again all the necessary "reassurance": "Public works will be laid down. 'Fair Deal' plans for river development, health insurance, disability insurance, housing, will be shelved. New ideas for spending will be met with a cold stare." Some of these things may possibly be undertaken by state and local governments, but the prevailing social and political climate is against it.

Thus there seems to be only one way to utilize our swollen industrial capacity and keep returns on investment high; that is to use the munitions-making capacity to construct more munitions-making capacity. Such a "solution" of the "post-armament" problem would obviously please not only the industrial interests involved but also the generals and admirals who clamor for more men, more ships, more "hardware." As *Business Week* of October 11 reported, "Apart from economic considerations [*sic!*], there's considerable sentiment in Washington for upping our mobilization goals." This sentiment is no pipe dream of a "lunatic fringe"; it has found forceful expression in the highest quarters. Henry H. Fowler, Director of Defense Mobilization, minces no words in urging still more armament and still more armament-making capacity: "We cannot attain security if we let success in our current achievements give rise to a false sense of optimism. . . . As the immediate production problems in meeting our military needs are met and overcome one by one, emphasis is shifting to the problem of rounding out the mobilization base—that is, insuring that we are in all respects ready to move rapidly toward full mobilization in the event that enemy aggression were to start an all-out war" (Seventh Quarterly Report to the President, October 1, 1952).

So full preparedness is first to be substituted for defense, and then a "rounded-out," modern preparedness is to succeed merely "full" preparedness. But would not such a policy ride roughshod over all the economy dreams of the Tafts and Bridgeses, of the Tabers and Millikins? Would it not run into their determined opposition? It might. Yet this opposition could be overcome, given the "right" international climate. And "adjusting" the "climate" to suit the makers and users of munitions would not be an altogether unprecedented proceeding. With matches and burning butts in ample supply, little is needed to make total armament culminate in total war.

Is there any chance of preventing such a catastrophe before it is too late?

Coming in Early Issues

Politicians, economists, and commentators agree that a new approach to our foreign-aid program is urgently necessary. *The Nation* therefore plans to publish soon four articles on the problem by men who are authorities on its various aspects.

PAUL A. BARAN, author of the foregoing article, argues that Point 4 is not the answer.

PETER WEISS, executive secretary of the International Development Placement Association, describes the sabotage of development and reconstruction schemes in the U. N.

DR. W. ARTHUR LEWIS of the University of Manchester, a member of the commission which prepared the famous U. N. report on "Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries," presents the case for world economic development under U. N. auspices.

STRINGFELLOW BARR, whose new book, "Citizens of the World," deals with foreign economic policy, states the political problem: how to mobilize American support for a U. N. world reconstruction and development program.

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Papagos Wins, Greece Loses

BY ROYAL WILBUR FRANCE

MOST Americans were so absorbed by the results of the Presidential election here that they paid little attention to the November 16 election in Greece, in which Marshal Alexander Papagos sharply defeated Premier Nicholas Plastiras. Yet this country is largely responsible for the victory the right has scored in Greece. Writing from Athens, C. E. Sulzberger said in the New York *Times* that although the United States "has sought to avoid any *open* [italics ours] interference in the current political situation, this effort has not been 100 per cent successful." In the opinion of the newspapers supporting Plastiras it was not even 25 per cent successful; they regularly referred to Papagos as the "American candidate."

Greece is a mirror in which we may see how our foreign policy appears to the world, with its naked emphasis on military might and its hypocritical slogans about defending democracy. There is no doubt that we are engaged in a vital struggle with the Soviet Union. The phrase "cold war" is significant. We are waging war. War, by its very nature, causes a belligerent to accept any allies, however alien their ideas may be to his own. That we have done just this in our eagerness to win is only too clear. To Franco, Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, Tito—to name but a few anti-democrats whom we support—we have now added General Papagos.

The transformation of Greece into a base of operations for war has been accompanied by execution, torture, and imprisonment for thousands of political prisoners. These things have gone on under the eyes of the representatives of the United States, who have been interested solely in building a "situation of strength." On February 19 of this year the Greek Parliament, with only eight E. D. A. (Communist-front) members dissenting, voted to have Greece join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. John E. Peurifoy, United States ambassador to Greece, who was in Washington at the time for discussions with President Truman, was reported in the press as saying, "The greatest asset of Greece is the fact that she could put ten divisions in the field, not next year but tomorrow if necessary." Mr. Peurifoy did not elaborate on the cost, economic and moral, at which this has been accomplished.

A dry and mountainous country, Greece is forced to maintain the greatest number of men under arms in relation to population of all the Atlantic Pact nations. According to figures compiled by the Mutual Security Agency, the percentage of men of military age in the armed forces is 21.6 in Greece, 21.2 in the United States, 17.8 in France, 15 in Britain, 9.7 in Holland and Norway. Americans generally believe that we are paying the huge costs of the Greek military establishment, and it is true that we have poured some two billion dollars into the country, most of which has gone into armament rather than rehabilitation, but Greece this year out of a total budget of $465,000,000 allocated $250,000,000 to the armed services. For the 200,000 homeless refugees less than a million and a quarter was provided, much less than the amount required to pay the salaries of Mutual Security Agency employees and of foreign "experts," American and British, invited to Greece to advise the government on how to gear the economy to war preparations. For peaceful reconstruction not more than $30,000,000 was allocated.

Instead of trying to build up a sound economy through Marshall Plan and Point Four aid, we have sacrificed Greece to logistics. And just as happened in nationalist China when American influence was dominant, the few wax fat while the masses starve. Sefton Delmar, writing in the London *Daily Express* of September 2, described the situation as follows:

> Close on a thousand million dollars has been spent by the United States since 1947, when it took over from us in Greece. Today much of that money is in the pockets of grafters. . . . The whole economic life of the country is being strangled to give the grafters and job hunters their cuts.

When I talked with Ambassador Peurifoy in Athens, he denied that there had been any widespread graft in the expenditure of American funds, but most of the people I consulted agreed with Mr. Delmar.

Whether or not we have permitted and encouraged graft and patronage in the use of our funds we have the

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reputation of having done so. The pro-government paper *Eleftheria* declared on February 1, 1952, that the big industrialists "have not only doubled their pre-war profits but are virtually evading taxation. . . . The wealthy classes take 45 per cent of the 'national cake' and pay only 7 per cent of the taxes." On April 17 an editorial in the same paper discussed the tragic effect of our economic and military "aid" on the Greek economy:

> To use the worn-out term "economic crisis" would not reflect the tragedy in our country. The whole population is conscious of a progressive asphyxia. It is not just one class or social stratum; everybody suffers, and this shows how dangerous the illness is. There was a time—after liberation—when only certain groups were affected. Now destitution is general—among salaried workers, peasants, and merchants. Unemployment is increasing, business is paralyzed, prices are going up, and the whole country is in despair. . . . Only the government and the American Mission do not seem to have grasped the dimensions of the tragedy.

The economy has been brought to the verge of collapse not merely by the armament burden but by the strangling of foreign trade. The cold war has cut Greece off from its traditional markets in Central and Eastern Europe, and American restrictions have blocked its exports to the United States.

SURELY the country was ripe for a change. General Papagos, leader of the reactionary Greek Rally, the Senator McCarthy of Greece, took advantage of the widespread popular discontent to launch a twofold attack on the government, charging it with being soft in dealing with Communists and incompetent in combating the economic crisis. The weak liberal, Prime Minister Plastiras, despite his pre-election promises to stop political arrests and grant a general amnesty, reacted to the attacks of Papagos the way the Democratic Party did here to McCarthy—by cracking down harder on the Communists. On March 30, 1952, Nikos Beloyannis, the Communist leader, was hastily put to death. When I went to Athens on August 23 of this year to represent several American labor unions at the trial of Antonius Ambatielos and eighteen other members of the Greek Maritime Union, I found that this was only one of a constant stream of political trials. As soon as the seamen were convicted, the trial of Manilos Glesos and another group of Communists started in the same courtroom. Our embassy, instead of urging Plastiras to carry out his promises, supported Papagos in his opposition to any leniency.

The trial I attended was a retrial of a military court martial held nearly five years ago which had condemned Ambatielos and nine of his co-defendants to death and the others to life imprisonment. Ambatielos had been in England during the war and had married a brilliant and attractive English school teacher. That he and his fellow-defendants are alive today is due to her efforts. After gaining the sympathy of British trade-unionists and members of Parliament, she incited a world-wide movement of protest which culminated in a request from Dr. Evatt, then president of the U. N. General Assembly, to the Greek government to spare the lives of the condemned men. As a result, a new trial was ordered.

It was conducted by a military court, with some of the judges in uniform. Three of the five judges had sat in the previous trial. All indicated by voice and gesture their detestation of the defendants and their lack of judicial objectivity. Indeed, they left little for the prosecuting attorney to do beyond interjecting an occasional question. The nominal charge was that the defendants had aided the rebel forces of General Markos during the civil war. Actually none of them had done any fighting, and the evidence that they had lent aid to the guerrillas consisted entirely of hearsay and opinion—they were believed to have done so because they were Communists. They did not deny that they were Communists. Ambatielos faced his judges boldly. He told them that they knew and he knew that he was not being tried for anything he had done but for his trade-union activities and political beliefs. Facing a death sentence, he declared that nothing they could do to him would make him abandon his convictions. One of the nineteen did recant and was let off with a light sentence. Ambatielos and the other nine who had previously been condemned to death were sentenced to life imprisonment, and the remaining eight given twenty years.

When I appealed to Ambassador Peurifoy, he pointed to his record against McCarthyism to prove his liberalism but insisted that in the tense conditions which followed the civil war it would be unwise to let "subversives" loose. In company with Elias Eliou, chief defense lawyer, and Oliver Stocker, an English barrister who represented British trade-unionists at the trial, I then presented to Minister of Justice Papasgyrou a protest against the handing down of life sentences by military courts in which no rules of evidence were observed and the bias of the judges was evident. He agreed with us but said that the government could do nothing about it at that time. The law under which these military trials are held was passed by Parliament, and the coalition's parliamentary majority was too small to risk a showdown on so touchy an issue.

British and American intervention in Greece can be justified only in military terms. Greece is the stopper of an overturned bottle filled with the red forces of the Balkans. If it fell into the hands of Communists or Communist sympathizers, these forces could flow down to threaten British and American interests in the Near East and Africa. With its airfields within striking distance of the Baku oil fields and Russian strategic bases, Greece is the victim of its geographical position.

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The Pacific Defense Pact

BY W. MACMAHON BALL

Melbourne

ARE America and Britain moving farther apart in their approach to the problems of East Asia? And if so, are Australia and New Zealand tending to move with America away from Britain? These questions are raised by the recent diplomatic pother over the ANZUS pact. In itself the pact does not seem very important. Its terms were carefully phrased to exclude any firm or specific military commitment. Whereas in the North Atlantic treaty it is declared that an armed attack against any member "shall be considered an attack against them all," in this pact each party only agrees to regard such an attack as "dangerous to its own peace and safety," a nearly self-evident proposition. Each party agrees to "act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes," but the provision in the corresponding part of the NATO pact, that such action may include "the use of armed force," is significantly omitted from the ANZUS treaty. Why, then, does Britain set such store on membership, or at least on having an observer at ANZUS meetings?

The British case, as officially stated, is that if Australia and New Zealand were involved in war, Great Britain would immediately and automatically come to their help, and that therefore it can reasonably claim a share in making plans for their defense. The American reply is that British membership would invite applications from other European powers with interests in the Pacific, and that such an extension of the pact would, at least at present, be unwise. Both statements seem to lack candor and completeness. One must look behind them to get a clue to what Foreign Minister Casey of Australia calls "all this hullabaloo."

It is more than likely that Mr. Churchill's personal outlook and temperament partly explain Britain's persistence. For a long time the military plans of Britain, Australia, and New Zealand have been closely coordinated, with Britain in the leading role. It is true that this coordination broke down rather badly at the end of 1941, when there was sharp conflict between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Curtin on whether Australian forces should serve in the Middle East, in Burma, or at home. Britain was then physically unable to fulfil its defense commitments in the Pacific. But that experience probably left a deeper impression in Australia than in Britain, and now that Japan's power to threaten Australia has, at least temporarily, been removed, Mr. Churchill naturally wishes to make sure that Australia's military resources would again be integrated with those of the British Commonwealth. In the British view the Middle East is today of greater strategic importance than the Far East. Is Australia's first interest to be in defense plans for the Middle East, under British leadership, or in defense plans for the Pacific, under American leadership?

The military issues are of course inseparable from the political. How far is America likely to go in supporting the Chinese Nationalists? If, in giving them aid, American ships were attacked by the Chinese Communists, Australia, by the terms of the pact, would be morally obliged to give American forces military support. The pact stipulates that an armed attack on any of the parties includes an attack on "its armed forces, public vessels, or aircraft in the Pacific." There is a real chance, then, that Australia would be obliged to take part in a conflict resulting from political decisions it had no share in shaping. And the American political line might not coincide with the British.

Economic rivalries complicate the picture. If Japan is to play the military role that America wishes, its first need is a secure economic basis for the rebuilding of its military strength. That means bigger and better markets and assured sources of raw materials in Southeast Asia. But Britain fears the renewal of Japanese export trade, particularly in textiles. America enthusiastically sponsors Japan's participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Britain tries to postpone this evil day for Lancashire.

America's main interest in East Asia is strategic; Britain's is commercial. Britain wants both Australia and the United States to limit their commitments in East Asia so that they can give more attention to the defense of Europe and the Middle East.

This situation creates some delicate problems for Australia. Many Australians are troubled at any suggestion that they are moving away from Britain. In March, 1950, Mr. Spender, then our Minister for External Affairs, addressed Parliament on the urgent need for a military alliance in the Pacific. He was quite clear about the nature of the danger. It was not Japan but Communist imperialism in East Asia. "I would like to think Australia, the United Kingdom, and, I fervently hope, other Commonwealth countries might form a nucleus, and that such other countries as might wish to do so should be

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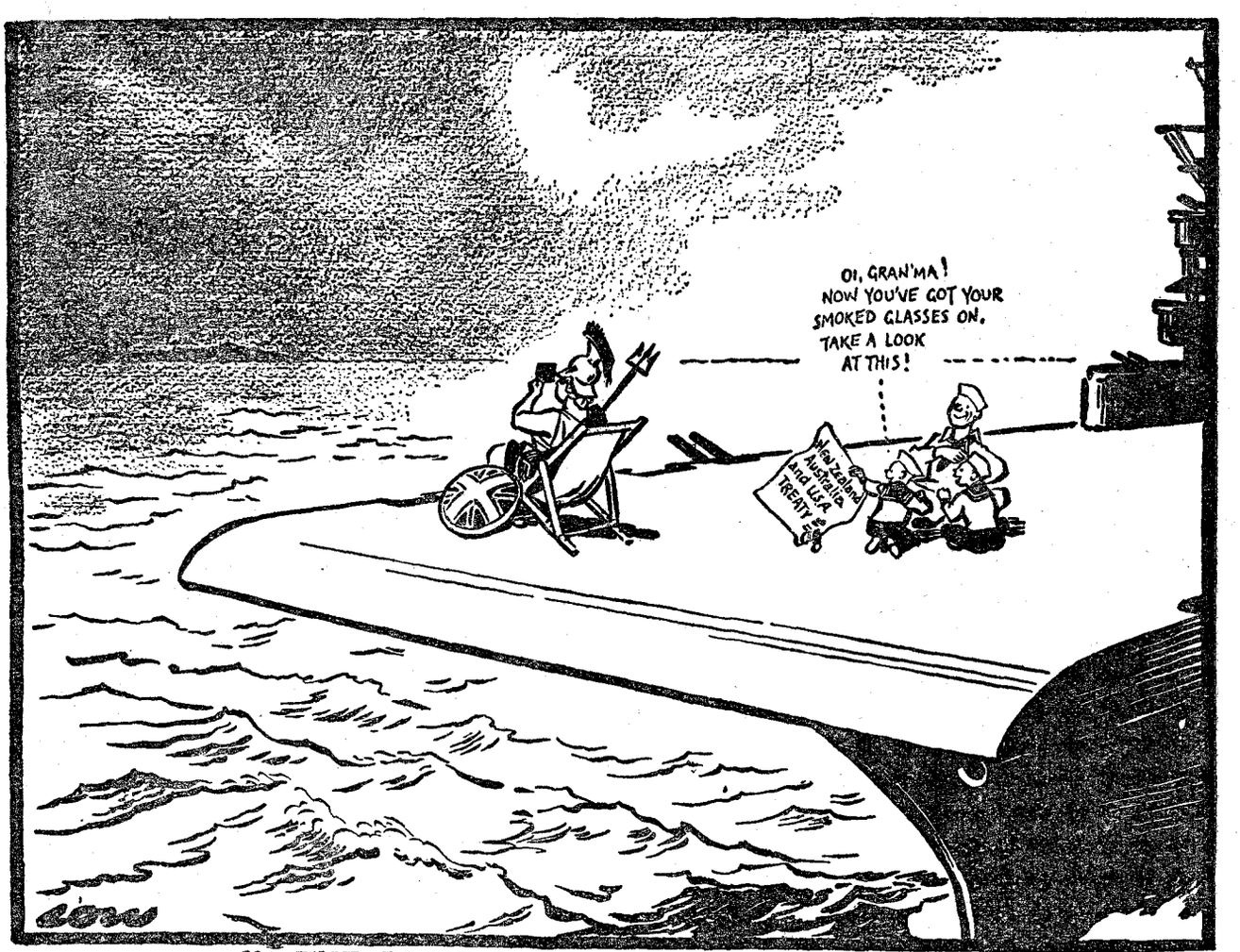
given the opportunity of associating themselves with it. . . . I have in mind particularly the United States of America, whose participation would give such a pact a substance that it would otherwise lack."

Mr. Spender made gallant but fruitless efforts through 1950 to achieve this sort of pact. It is now argued in some quarters here that since the British government showed no interest in Mr. Spender's project, it is acting rather arrogantly in protesting against its exclusion from ANZUS meetings. But in 1950 Mr. Spender probably found it as hard to arouse enthusiasm for his project in Washington, or indeed in Canberra, as in London.

It was Mr. Dulles who really brought the ANZUS pact to life, offering it as an American concession to Australia's fears of a rearmed Japan. But since the ratification of the Japanese peace treaty, giving Japan the right to unlimited rearmament, the ANZUS pact seems to have been reassigned its previous role—protection against communism. At Honolulu in August Mr. Casey said that there must be consultations "both in the political field and also in the military field," since there was "an existing threat" from militant Communist forces. He made no mention of any possible future threat from Japan, though this was the issue on which he and his colleagues a few months before had put the main emphasis. The Australian government is therefore largely responsible for the present confused state of public opinion here. It has given no clear and consistent statement on the nature of the danger against which ANZUS is to give protection, on the sort of measures that will be taken against this danger by the member countries, or on the volume of resources that will be made available to carry them out.

TO ANY small nation a foreign policy is a search for friends. If you have fewer than nine million people and are resolved to hold a country as big as the United States, when neighboring countries excited by new ambitions are nearly bursting with population pressure, then the search for friends is an urgent business. In the past we looked without question to Britain. But since 1941 Britain has been forced to contract its military commitments in this part of the world. Consequently, a growing number of Australians have come to feel that our national interests now demand the closest possible alignment with the United States. "This," they argue, "is America's century in the Pacific. We Australians are of the same race and we have the same political and social values. Let



IN THE PACIFIC:— WAITING FOR THE BANG

Courtesy London *Daily Herald*

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us continue to honor and love Britain, and work closely with it wherever possible. But if, to our discomfort, Britain and America should take different lines in the Pacific, the strategic realities dictate our course. We should go along with America."

Some people, however, are still uneasy about any automatic or uncritical acceptance of American policy. America may not always be willing or able to deploy the same economic and military strength in East Asia that it has deployed in the last ten years. But the Asians will always be there and, almost certainly, in increasing strength. Moreover, in the event of a general war the existence of the ANZUS pact would hardly increase Australia's rating in America's over-all strategy. And if conflicts of interest should develop between Australia and Japan it is not inevitable that America would support Australia, since Japan is a much more valuable ally. It is again uncertain whether the military and economic policies America is following in East Asia today will be successful. Continued support for the Chinese Nationalists in Formosa and for the French-sponsored regime in Indo-China might deepen the hostility of all Asian nations, Communist or non-Communist, to the West. If this were to happen, the present struggle between the Communist and democratic blocs might become a struggle between East and West, with consequences more serious for Australia and New Zealand than for any other country of European stock. For we cannot, however difficult things become, withdraw from the western Pacific. We must learn to live in peace with our northern neighbors if we want to live at all. No outstretched Western hand, however friendly and strong, can give us lasting protection against a hostile Asia.

The real problem for Australia is not whether it can be friends with both America and Britain, for British and American interests have a basic unity whatever the secondary differences. It is whether we can accept American leadership and also be friends with our Asian neighbors. The maintenance of peace between America and Asia is perhaps Australia's deepest interest. Britain's present policy toward the new nations of Asia is pursued with a patience and calm, a readiness to negotiate and compromise, not always evident in expressed American attitudes. It would seem to be in Australia's interest to have the British view heard and heeded whenever possible in Anglo-American councils.

The Terror That Walks by Day

BY ST. CLAIR DRAKE

ON THE highlands of East Africa Mau Mau is a terror that walks by night. Its members are sworn to intimidate or assassinate all Africans who cooperate too closely with the 30,000 white people who run the country. They have also killed a few Europeans and have maimed the livestock of a good many. In *The Nation* of November 1 fear was expressed that the colonial authorities might use the current disorders as an excuse for cracking down on all native "agitators." This seems to have happened. Repression is a terror that walks by day.

In one week 104 African leaders were arrested, including the very moderate Eliud Mathu, sole Negro in the Governor's Executive Council; the eighty-one-year-old retired senior chief, Koinange, and members of his family; Jomo Kenyatta, head of the Kenya African Union, an organization which Sir Oliver Lyttelton, British Colonial Secretary, assured a questioner in Parliament was not proscribed; teachers, newspapermen, and minor officials of the K. A. U. Truck loads of Africans were picked up in broad daylight for screening. No one can quarrel with an attempt to restore order and wipe out groups of assassins, but repression has gone beyond this in Kenya.

Moreover, it has crossed the Atlantic and struck at African students here. In the middle of September, a month before the Mau Mau clean-up was begun, a United States Department of Justice agent went to Lincoln University in eastern Pennsylvania and asked to see a student called Mugo-son-of-Gatheru, a member of the Kikuyu tribe of Kenya, in which the Mau Mau movement is centered. When Mugo appeared, the agent grilled him for four hours. What do you know about Jomo Kenyatta? About Koinange? What do you think about Korea? How did you get here? What American Negroes have aided you? Mugo was frightened. He had just begun his junior year in college. What did this mean? On November 5 he knew. A letter from the Immigration and Naturalization Service asked him to leave the country within thirty days or face deportation. As usual in such cases no reason was given. Mugo is still at Lincoln, and the president of Lincoln is trying to extract the reason for the order from the immigration authorities. Of course his deportation is really a part of the terror that walks by day.

ST. CLAIR DRAKE, co-author with Horace Cayton of "Black Metropolis," is a member of the faculty of Roosevelt College in Chicago. While in England on a Rosenwald fellowship in 1947 and 1948, he shared an apartment with Mbiyu Koinange, London representative of the Kenya African Union, whom he mentions in his article.

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Mugo-son-of-Gatheru was born in Kenya in 1925. His father was a shaman, or witch doctor, but some of his relatives were Christians and they sent him to mission schools and to African "independent schools," where he received a smattering of primary education—when he was not tending goats. His family had ambitions for him; they hoped he would become at least a postmaster. When he was fourteen or fifteen the war broke out, and he saw the older boys forcibly drafted to work on the white men's farms. He saw others volunteer to fight in Burma. About this time he became a man and was circumcised and initiated into the "age class of 1940." These are the boys whom Negley Farson referred to in his "Last Chance in Africa" as the "troublemakers" in Kenya. But Mugo was not attracted to hooliganism or direct-action politics. He wanted to go to school. He finally got a chance to learn laboratory techniques at a government hospital in Nairobi. Meanwhile he was taking correspondence courses. He tried out his facility in English by writing letters to the editor of the white paper inquiring when Africans would be allowed to vote and when they would get better schools. He lost his laboratory post for being so presumptuous.

Mugo then took a job in the office of the *African Voice*, the official organ of the Kenya African Union, published in the Swahili language. Here his eyes were really opened; he learned about America, and he began to dream. He had access to exchange copies of the Chicago *Defender* and the Pittsburgh *Courier*. He learned that Kenya's most distinguished educator, Mbiyu Koinange, president of Kenya Teachers College and the idol of all would-be intellectuals, was a graduate of Hampton Institute in Virginia, Ohio Wesleyan, and Columbia University. He found out, too, that in 1938 there had been a great feast and ceremony in the Kikuyu reserve in honor of an American Negro named Ralph Bunche who was visiting East Africa on a research fellowship. Most amazing of all, he discovered that all the little native churches and schools that dotted the reserve—the African orthodox churches and the African independent schools—were connected with America; in 1925, the year he was born, the elders of the tribe had brought over an American Negro bishop who had stayed with them for fifteen months helping to set up their denomination. Mugo determined to go to America for his education. Among the 5,000,000 Kenya Africans there were six college graduates but not one doctor or lawyer —this after nearly seventy-five years of British tutelage.

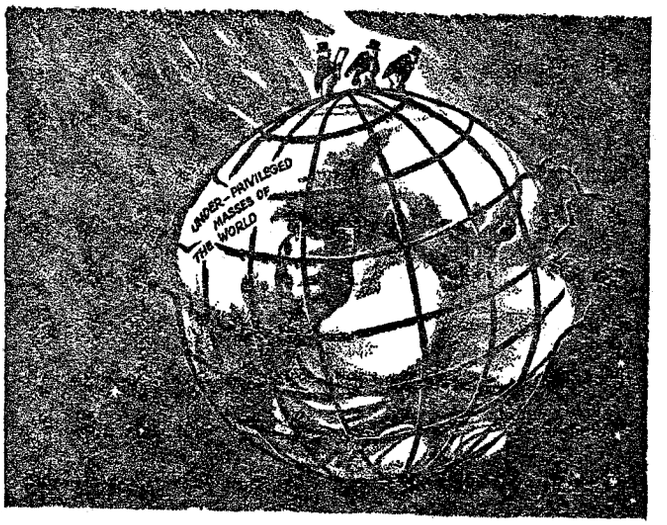
Mugo began to correspond with people in America. In 1948 a group in Chicago, the Afro-World Fellowship, whose president was Edith Sampson, now a delegate to the U. N. Assembly, obtained a scholarship at Roosevelt College for him. But Mugo did not arrive when he was expected. Instead came a cablegram saying the Kenya Director of Intelligence and Security had refused to give him the "good-conduct certificate" he needed for a visa. He had his certificate from the chief of police stating that he had never been convicted of a crime, but this was not enough. He was a "bad nigger"—he had written letters to papers saying Africans should vote and have better schools.

THE Kikuyu were angry to hear that Mugo-son-of-Gatheru was barred from the America that had trained their first college graduate, Mbiyu Koinange. Njeri, the strong-willed, completely illiterate head of the women's section of the Independent Schools Association, dictated a sharp letter to the editor of the Nairobi *East African Standard*. "Why," she asked, "should some people in this country be refused permission to accept scholarships offered to them by Americans in the United States?" The editor answered her in a page-long editorial headed "Educating the African Abroad." One paragraph ran:

> There is plenty of evidence to show that African undergraduates abroad have fallen victim to influences which operate neither for their own benefit nor for the ultimate advantage of the countries from which they come. . . . That a few Africans should be deprived for a time of the opportunity these scholarships seem to them to present is less important than that some should be turned into agents of forces abroad which have the express purpose of destroying democracy in general and the British Commonwealth and Empire in particular, and then return to spread evil doctrines and unrest among ignorant elements in the population.

The editor added that if any students were allowed to leave they should be "hand picked." "No young African student," he said, "should be allowed to go abroad for educational purposes in present conditions without government approval of his suitability for such a privilege."

Mugo did not argue. He took a boat for India. As a British subject, he did not need a visa for India. He attended a Catholic high school there for a year, studying to pass the college-entrance examinations set by Cambridge University. Then his hardworking mother, who



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could neither read nor write but who wanted Mugo to be a great man, sent him 500 rupees with the message: "Go to England, son, and try from there to make it across." Mugo went. In England nobody asks for a "good-nigger" certificate. The American embassy gave him a visa for a six months' visit and he went to Chicago. After a summer at Roosevelt College he spent a year in Florida at Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune's school. Everybody liked him there and he made good grades. The Immigration Service gave him a student visa.

Unfortunately Mugo lost his passport in the summer of 1951 and had to get a new one from Kenya. Thus the Kenya government knew where he was. Mugo breathed a sigh of relief when it did not say, "Come home." He was obviously not guilty of any immigration irregularities. His visitor's visa had been changed to a student's visa. He felt secure. He even wrote the Director of Education in Kenya for advice on the courses he should take to qualify as a teacher at home.

Then he accepted an offer from Dr. Horace Mann Bond to go to Lincoln University to complete his education. It is probable that this move led the Kenya police to decide to bring him back, for Lincoln is considered the fountainhead of what is known in Africa as "Gold Coastism." It is usually Gold Coastism that African white settlers mean when they accuse someone of communism.

The Gold Coast—its name changed to Ghana—will soon be a self-governing Commonwealth nation. Gold Coastism in Kenya would mean that 5,000,000 Africans would vote where none vote now and would elect a black legislature. A black Cabinet would be running the country for the benefit of 5,000,000 Africans instead of a white Cabinet running it for the benefit of 30,000 whites. Gold Coastism would mean free compulsory education for blacks as well as for whites. It would mean freedom of speech and assembly. It would mean letting Africans occupy some of the thousands of acres in the fertile, healthy highlands, now reserved for Europeans.

Lincoln University is blamed for Gold Coastism because one of its graduates, Kwami Nkrumah, returned from America to become head of the Convention People's Party in the colony and then Her Majesty's first Negro Prime Minister. Nobody in Kenya bothered Mugo, however, until the beginning of his second year at Lincoln. Was it when the terror began to walk by day that the government decided Mugo should come home?

Mugo does not believe in either communism or secret terrorism, but he hopes for an ever-increasing measure of democracy. I spent many hours talking with him last summer at Lincoln's Summer Conference on African Affairs. His thoughts were on how to pass French; how to enjoy football, which he did not understand too well last year; how to meet some girls—they have none at Lincoln; how to make high grades so that he could enter a graduate school. Now he is worrying over what will happen to him back in Kenya. If he attacks Mau Mau, he may become one of its victims. If he is noncommittal, the settlers will throw him into jail. Even the new McCarran act provides that the Attorney General may suspend an expulsion or deportation order if he believes that the person will return to persecution or physical violence.

The Kenya authorities know that Mugo is neither Mau Mauist nor Communist. Are they simply determined that he shall not graduate from Lincoln? Or could it be that American immigration officials cannot distinguish Gold Coastism from communism and have ordered Mugo deported as a "subversive"? Mugo-son-of-Gatheru is waiting to see whether the Statue of Liberty means what he thought it meant.

What Happened Out West

The Doubting Mountain States

BY THOMAS C. DONNELLY

Las Vegas, New Mexico

THE night before election my wife and I sat with our only son in the bus station of our little home town of Las Vegas, New Mexico. The bus was to take him to Raton, 100 miles north, where he would join two other boys, ending a furlough, bound for Korea. He had had sixteen weeks of training since his graduation from college in June.

As we made light conversation to conceal the heaviness in our hearts, we recalled that at the time the draft law was passed, Congress had talked about guaranteeing every boy at least a year of training in this country before sending him to the front. I thought, too, of the campaign speeches of Truman and Stevenson, with their undertone of despair about the Korean situation. Eisenhower's were more hopeful; he would try to bring the bloody stalemate to a fruitful conclusion. It was the only buoyant thought we could summon as we said our goodbys.

I don't say Korea was the chief factor in the election result in the Rocky Mountain West, but certainly no

THOMAS C. DONNELLY, president of New Mexico Highlands University, is editor of the volume "Rocky Mountain Politics." This and the following article continue the regional analysis of the election results begun last week with articles on the Middle West, the South, and New England.

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issue moved people more deeply. Americans have a right to expect their leaders to have the vision to conceive of a way out of stalemates. Eisenhower sensed this, and spoke up. The best Stevenson could do was to approve Harry Truman's Korean policy.

The Communist challenge at home and around the globe poses another test for our leaders. Millions of Americans, including us rednecks of the Rocky Mountains, felt Truman had not met the challenge. This feeling of the Administration's inadequacy provided the basis for McCarthyism.

Secretary Acheson had the job of inspiring confidence in the sure-footedness of our foreign policy. He is suave and well-informed, but he lacks the primal force to convince Westerners. Truman's brassy self-confidence, replacing his once becoming modesty, and his tendency to testiness eventually caused us to see him as he is. Somewhere along the path of the past seven years, by quietly adding dozens of little impressions together, we have taken his measure and found him wanting. Could Stevenson fill the role? For all his intellect and gift of words, he was bound to Truman. As President, gentleman that he is, he would have felt a deep obligation to Truman, been surrounded by Truman advisers.

For these reasons we wanted a change—a new will, a new mind to find better solutions for present and future Koreas. Ike may or may not have what is needed; at least he was a hopeful alternative. It is a long way from New York to the mountain-meadow country of Las Vegas, but Ike came through to us as the kind of man Westerners have always found good to have around in a gun fight. No slick pro—but we have had enough of them for a while.

Truman's contentions that the country would lose its social gains under the Republicans, that Eisenhower's election would lead to another depression—arguments which he had used successfully in his 1948 "whistle-stop, give-'em-hell" campaign—fell on unbelieving ears in 1952. Perhaps the long continuance of prosperity in this country had made us insensitive to the danger. But also, deep in the viscera of many, and not only Western ranchers, was a conviction that the nation needs to pause before adopting new welfare programs and learn to administer more efficiently the programs already in force.

Another widespread belief was that the national government was no longer in the hands of first-raters; indeed, some of us wondered whether our officials were good second-raters. Many of them seemed to lack simple honesty and morality, to say nothing of competence. As a people we have become inured to the absence of these qualities in a few high places, but there had been too many Caudles.

The outcome of the election in the Rocky Mountain states was apparently not greatly affected by state and local considerations. A mighty tide was coming in. It surged over the Rockies and the high inter-mountain plains as irresistibly as it rolled over the Middle Western prairies. Although here and there Democratic candidates running for local office or for Congress survived, most of them were carried away by the flood.

Continued federal economic intervention is vital for the future of the Rocky Mountain West. Our economy is semi-colonial. Long-term federal investments are essential to the development of the area. Whether we stay in the Republican column in 1956, even in 1954, will of course depend on Eisenhower's recognition of our legitimate economic aspirations. In 1952, however, we were swayed by other things.

Republicans Sweep the Coast

BY DAVID G. FARRELLY

Los Angeles

IN THE eleven states of the Far West, Eisenhower and Nixon made a clean sweep, while four years ago only Oregon went Republican. It is obvious that the national tidal wave for Ike explains his capture of the West's entire electoral vote. In the three Pacific Coast states other Republican candidates benefited from Ike's personal triumph.

In Washington, Eisenhower ran ahead of Stevenson in every county. The vote in Seattle and other industrial areas indicates that labor did not give full support to the political indorsements of its leaders. And apparently the General's queer talk about public power had no adverse effect on his majority.

However, Henry Jackson prevented Harry Cain from rejoining the reactionaries in the United States Senate. Jackson seems to have built an immunity against political landslides in 1946 when he was the only Democratic Congressman to survive the Republican victory in his state. Stressing Korea and foreign affairs as the most important national problems, Jackson was able to present a voting record that paralleled Ike's internationalist views.

Anomalously, Washington will have two Democratic Senators, but its delegation in the House will be Republican six to one. Four Republican Representatives were reelected easily; two newcomers beat their Democratic opponents in rather close contests. Seeking the new post of Congressman-at-large, Don Magnuson, a Democrat, won a close race against Al Canwell, head of the legislature's subversive-activities committee.

Governor Arthur Langlie was elected for an unprecedented third term by a substantial margin over an able Democrat, Hugh Mitchell, who gave up his seat in Con-

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gress to make the race. For the first time since 1928 Republicans will hold the offices of lieutenant governor, attorney general, and state treasurer. Furthermore, when the final returns are in, the G. O. P. may control both houses of the legislature. In this event there may be a Congressional redistricting which will affect Washington's at-large seat in the 1954 election.

THE Republican margin of victory in Oregon was wide—nearly two to one. Truman carried half the counties four years ago; Eisenhower won them all.

All four Congressional seats were retained by the Republicans, as were also the three state offices on the ballot. Senator Wayne Morse will not come before the voters until 1956, but his "declaration of independence" was an affront to conservative Governor Douglas McKay, whom Eisenhower has selected for Secretary of the Interior.

Richard and Maxine Neuberger were returned to their respective posts in the state senate and house, leading the ticket in Multnomah County (Portland). One of their favored measures won approval by the voters—a proposal for higher weight-mile taxes on trucks.

In California a close race was expected between Eisenhower and Stevenson, but the General amassed a lead of more than 600,000 when he captured 56 per cent of the two-party votes. Southern California voted proportionately heavier for Ike than did the rest of the state. The ratio there was 7.3 votes for Stevenson to every 10 for Ike, while in the central and northern sections it was 8.6 to 10.

Winning all but nine of the fifty-eight counties, the Republicans reached the peak of a gradual climb to success. In the four Presidential elections starting in 1940, their candidates won first seven counties, then twelve, then thirty, and finally forty-nine this year. Over the last dozen years there has been a steady decline of Democratic Presidential voting strength from 58 to 44 per cent.

Of California's twelve largest counties—with more than 100,000 voters each—Eisenhower carried nine and lost three by narrow margins. Eleven of these counties contain a total of 700,000 more registered Democrats than Republicans. Yet these Democratic counties gave Ike nearly a half-million majority on November 4. Los Angeles County contains 40 per cent of the state's electorate. Despite a registration advantage of a third of a million Democrats, this county gave Ike a quarter-million majority.

In two areas in the state, islands in a Republican sea, Stevenson managed to attract more support than Eisenhower. California's capital was the center of a four-county Stevenson area in the Sacramento Valley; Fresno, of a tri-county isle in the San Joaquin Valley. It is significant that the Sacramento *Bee* and the Fresno *Bee*, two McClatchy papers, gave strong backing to the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket. They were particularly critical of Vice-President Nixon from the time of his nomination.

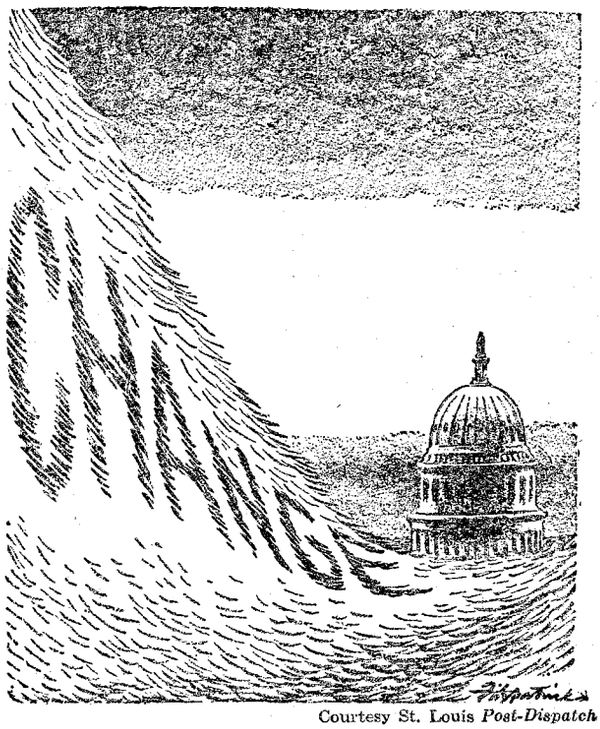
Congressional contests produced mixed results, but there was a net increase of five, possibly six, Republican Representatives. It may be suggested, therefore, that the Golden State is chiefly responsible for the G. O. P.'s slender majority in the House.

The Nixon campaign techniques were used successfully by Joe Holt to defeat liberal Dean McHenry in one of the Los Angeles races. Nixon's shadow, Pat Hillings, won easily over President Woodrow Wilson's grandson, W. W. Sayre. If Nixonism is not restrained, few decent men will run for public office, risking personal smears. There is talk of a libel and slander suit against Joe Holt. Holt and Hillings are easily the least qualified members of the California delegation.

Nominated by both major parties, Senator William Knowland received more than three million courtesy votes. In both houses of the state legislature the Republicans increased their already preponderant majority.

On the twenty-four propositions before the voters of the state, the decision was generally conservative. For example, two anti-subversive measures were passed, and two proposals billboarded as "pension-dictator poison" were defeated. By a good margin California supported a change in its cross-filing law: henceforth a candidate will be required to list his party affiliation in the primary elections. This will obviate some of the confusion that has existed.

The nation-wide factors that produced a Republican victory throughout the country were operative in California. In voting for Eisenhower, California sided with the winner as it has done in every Presidential election in this century except in 1912.



Courtesy St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Promise in the South

BY ELIZABETH STEVENSON

NORTH Georgia has a careless beauty in the fall. I drove north from Atlanta recently and enjoyed again the stubble fields, the broom sage, the red earth. The oaks, the hickories, the maples, and the sweet gums burned somberly in the lower valleys. In the high valleys they flamed into extremes of yellow, crimson, and hard-bitten purple. At Tallulah Gorge the colors reached their peak. The bold rocks and bright leaves of the cliff were a fine exhilaration.

Along the winding road from Atlanta to the mountains were small farms which had a way of melting into the background of the woods and hills. The sign of autumn was on the farms—pockets of dry-rustling corn, fields of cotton picked once but showing white where a second picking was in order, cotton piled on farmhouse porches, baled cotton stacked by cotton-gin houses.

But on the whole there was less cotton than there used to be. The new signs of the time were long, neat chicken houses, newly prepared pastures, kudzu vines reclaiming gullies, beef cattle in green fields, big Hampshire hogs, apple orchards and apple-loading stations by the railroad tracks. More of the farmhouses were painted than not. Many fields showed signs of special care. The consolidated schools looked prosperous; so did the small country churches.

The land has changed. The very look of it is the look of a hopeful South. And change in the South is urban as well as rural. It belongs to the small bright towns as well as to the cities. Twenty years ago the cities and towns were as drab, as dingy, and as hopeless as the farms. Today the ferment of a new promise operates in city streets and country roads at an almost equal pitch.

I took a conscious look again, as I went north, at the small towns of the hill country. Each has its earmark of the old—an ancient hotel, an anachronistic courthouse, or a brave monument to the dead past.

Yet there is new life in these towns. In addition to the bustle of the prosperous farm trade that makes the side walks hum on Saturday afternoons, there is usually, a mile or two outside the town, a new industrial plant. Set back from the road in its own landscaped grounds, designed for function and for beauty, the plant is running full blast. And it is manned by union labor.

THE SOUTH has had two or three revolutions in the last twenty years. None has been more remakable than the unionization of its industry. And nobody has played a more interesting part in this revolution than Lucy Randolph Mason, who for all these years of change was a representative of the C. I. O. in the South. Her low-keyed account of her twenty years' coming and going—in and out of most of the small towns and some of the cities of the South—has just appeared in her book, "To Win These Rights: A Personal Story of the C. I. O. in the South" (Harper, $3).

The C. I. O. could have had no better representative than she. In the midst of the labor rough-and-tumble, she had the advantage—immeasurable in this region—of a Southern voice, a Southern background, and an innate understanding of the Southern temperament. She had also a passionate dedication to the legal and moral rights of labor, and the desire to lessen the conflicts between the white and the Negro workers with whom she worked. During these years she valiantly used her own personal advantages to gain these rights for labor and, furthermore, to educate both workers and employers in just what these rights amounted to.

The story is heroic, but it is written without heroics. It is just a sort of log book of cases. First one plant, then another, is checked off, most of them as success stories. The reader sees the heroism in Miss Lucy, although perhaps she herself did not. There is a note of quiet humor, too, that adds a flavor to her story. The book has no pretensions to literature. But it should be read.

Her example is eloquent in itself. One can see her in the late 1930's—often alone—coming into one hostile town after another, and persuading, standing firm where necessary, but as often as not converting a recalcitrant sheriff to performing his own duty by the gentle pressure of her manner. Her story is an example of the South generating its own change. It is the South, in the person of a Virginia woman of good family and good heart, calmly making a revolution. And the South—after some skirmishing and momentary ugliness and violence—has accepted the revolution as if there had not been one.

Lucy Mason calls to mind other Southern bringers of change, most of them anonymous. How many good men and women have worked in this state to make possible the excellent work of Georgia's health department—one of the best in the country today! How many have labored, as did Margaret Shannon of the Atlanta *Journal,* to raise the standards of the country schools; how many, to build the new city hospital for Atlanta's Negro citizens—perhaps too little and very late, but yet a good in itself! How many have worked to gain such an end as the Negro police of the city, now an accepted and approved part of the Atlanta scene!

IT IS IN THE CITY—in Atlanta—that one can see and hear and feel best the ferment which is changing the South before one's eyes. Here is a city which has yet a lingering trace of the manners and mores of the small staid town it once was but which is every day bursting its bonds by new growth, new inventiveness, and new creativeness.

It has just dawned on its citizens, as they build a new expressway, or push out the city boundaries, or reorganize the city high schools, that the only limit here to opportunity—in business, the professions, labor, or welfare—is the limit set by ambition or conscience. The final results are in doubt. The change may go bad. Yet in the meantime material change brings on a sort of moral ferment.

Remembering the dulness of Atlanta twenty years ago, it is pardonable in the Atlanta citizen to be proud of a symphony orchestra created out of nothing

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and now strong, exuberant, and enduring. It is pardonable—with the underdog, family pride of a Southerner—to call attention to the city's arena theater, its civic opera company, its two ballet groups, and its excellent concerts.

The Library downtown has a new look, and we have several new branches. The Bookmobile carries books down all the remote roads of Fulton County. We read separately as yet, but the new Negro Branch has a vitality that some of the white ones lack: it is filling two or three functions, being a community and social center as well as a book lender.

Our colleges and our universities prosper, and in the fashion of good schools raise new questions and new questioners. They are leaveners, in both our white and our Negro community.

White and black—the words make one draw up short from the easy plunge into enthusiasm. There are so many obvious inequalities and injustices. Any short ride on a city trolley will display them: in housing, schooling, and in the visible ugliness of segregation. One rages at injustice. Yet one does not rage alone; in that there is hope—hope that the South can creatively solve its own greatest problem.

The mold has cracked. The situation is fluid. Most Southerners, whatever their prejudices, expect change. And the expectation aids the new thing. Laws do something, but the disposition to accept the law, or to accept the new and precarious custom, accomplishes much more. The influence of all real education, all true religion, all honest reform, in the South urges constructive change.

We have with us still—and we cannot dismiss or dispose of the fact—ugly prejudice, hypocritical and unfair legislation, and, at least in Georgia, a state administration which is trying to put the brakes on change.

Yet when he was up for office last, Governor Herman Talmadge lost in the popular vote; Representative James C. Davis of the Fifth District lost in the popular vote; the late Eugene Talmadge, the last time he ran, lost in the popular vote. They won, all three, only because the antiquated and unfair county-unit system of counting votes in the Democratic primary, as if in some miniature and stacked electoral-college system, was in effect. In the recent election the Talmadge administration attempted to extend this system to general elections by means of a constitutional amendment. It used smears, fabrication, and prejudice to gain its end. But it failed. And the failure is significant. The desperation of the demagogues betrays their fear. They are on their way out. They are beginning to look like mastodons in a world that has no proper place for them.

The South needs an infusion of competitiveness. But in bringing in the methods of the Northern industrial society, it is to be hoped that the South can temper some of these elements. The wrong of the South has been widely trumpeted. Not so well known is the good of the South. One native good is a sort of lazy savoring of life—a trait which could easily be crowded out by a too highly geared industrialism. Another native good is the normal Southern informality and sociability, which is rare in the abstracted, neatly patterned, progressive rabbit warrens of the North, where the machine has for so long been dominant.

And what seems most valuable to a Southerner weighing the good of the past against the good of the future, is the stubborn way a Southerner has—white or black, it makes no difference—of looking at people and events. It is a personal way. We are not statistical. We are not abstract. When we hate or when we love, it is a personal hate or love. You can respect a personal enemy in a way that you can never love an abstract neighbor. It would be a pity in the big change to lose that quality. If it is kept, it may give a different direction, or at least a slightly different flavor, to contemporary American industrialism. In its own re-creation, the South may contribute something of value to the national whole.

Thin Gruel

IDEAS OF THE GREAT ECONOMISTS. By George Soule. Viking Press. $3.50.

ECONOMIC ideas are important in the formulation of public policy. A minute fraction of the voting population reads the difficult books economists write. Stimulated by these two facts, Mr. Soule, author of many previous works, popular and learned, has produced a handbook of economic ideas. In some ways the product is appealing. Although Mr. Soule's style is by no means innocent of several varieties of cliché, it is on the whole simple and direct. The dominating conceptions of economists from Aristotle to John Maynard Keynes are quickly summarized in just over two hundred pages. Snippets of biography and bits of economic history garnish the dish. If the book is really addressed, as the dust cover claims, or rather admits, to the "intelligent layman who has neither the time nor the desire to read the great source works on economic theory," it will at least leave him a little the wiser for reading it.

The sources of my dissatisfaction with this small essay on large ideas are popularization in general and economic popularization in particular. Anyone who purports to explain another person's ideas, though his heart be pure, his head clear, and his skill great, inevitably interposes his own mind between those of the reader and the writer. Try as he may, he cannot reproduce the proportions, emphases, and effects of the original. When a considerable span of time separates the original writer and his popularizer, changes in language and idiom add to the difficulties of accurate exposition. Even when approximate justice is otherwise rendered, the reader misses the sense of struggle with refractory materials, the occasional obscurities and even contradictions which help to distinguish the man with the new idea. Finally, the reader is cheated of the literary style of a personality locked in combat with the thought and problems of his time. For this the clear, unruffled, impersonal prose of the good expositor is no adequate compensation.

Mr. Soule's book illustrates these difficulties. He conveys to the reader little idea of the divergent intellectual tempers of Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Karl Marx. The label "classical economists" glued to all three completely conceals Smith's urbanity, Ricardo's intense intellectual fire and passion for abstraction, and Marx's odd mixture of metaphysics and revelation. In justice to Mr. Soule, be it said that this task is impossible. To appreciate the ideas of great economists, to savor their complexity, and to tell them apart, one must read them. A score card is no substitute.

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The popularizer in economics faces two additional hazards. The terms of his charter, the contents of his implicit promise to his public, compel him to simplify, abridge, and make easy. Even momentary difficulty is a breach of faith. Yet a great deal of economics is abstruse. Understanding demands command of diagrammatic, statistical, and mathematical techniques. Mr. Soule's pre-masticated prose, quite adequate to a summary of Mun and Adam Smith, cannot cope with the mathematical economists. Neither are they omitted. We are told simply that the mathematical economists use mathematics. For this the author may be excused: few economists are really at home in mathematics. It is less easy to excuse a treatment of Ricardo which must make any intelligent reader wonder what Ricardo really added to economic theory, a summary of Marx which makes of his theories of value and economic development two apparently unrelated pieces of doctrine, and a chapter on Keynes which pretends to but never achieves clarity. Yet the obligation to make economics easy is so overriding that it is hard to see how Mr. Soule could have avoided these and similar errors.

The second hazard a controversial subject encounters is that the writer's prejudices will distort his narrative. His space is limited and his materials varied. Can he fail to favor his own opinions? Mr. Soule's biases are clear to the economists. Are they equally plain to non-economists? His treatment of monopolistic competition and price theory in general is curt and unfair. On the other hand his respect for Veblen and the institutionalists is evident. In these opinions, be it noted, he is in a minority among economists. Yet even though he regards favorably the National Bureau of Economic Research as an extension of institutional methods, his need to simplify prevents him from explaining the statistical technique which lies at the heart of the bureau's business-cycle research.

These critical remarks are addressed less at Mr. Soule's quite adequate specimen of a dubious product than at popularization as it is practiced. Simplified texts are no substitute for living prose. In economics popular writing cannot teach specialized methods.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Political Parable

THE DEVIL THAT FAILED. By Maurice Samuel. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

AN INTELLIGENT and inoffensive although somewhat inhuman young college professor named Alan Cleaver wakes up one day in a bewilderingly strange sanitarium, to be informed that during the period of his unconsciousness he has become thirteen feet tall and now weighs some twenty-two hundred pounds.

His attendants—whom he comes to look upon as his captors, since they told him incomunicado and apparently intend to use him as a subject for mysterious scientific experiments—are an odd group of Hungarians led by the irascible and magnetic Dr. Sertorus. The doctor's assistants include Dr. Bethlen, a dandified little erotomaniac whose conversation is built on his conquests, and the two nurses Miss Arkol, frenziedly eager to copulate with a "giant," and Miss Dirack, anxious for reasons of her own to mother the patient.

A trivial incident leads Cleaver to suspect that he is more Sertorus's victim than his patient, but it is not until he comes upon a copy of "Gulliver's Travels" that he hits upon the idea of conducting a series of experiments of his own to enable him to verify his suspicions.

In the meantime the interplay of argument between Sertorus and Cleaver and the unusual relations that come into being between Cleaver and the attendants who are less than half his size combine to create an atmosphere that is at once suspenseful and intellectually intriguing. One is of course tempted to describe the book as Kafkaesque, but I hesitate to do so for several reasons.

In the first place, the mention of Kafka seems to suggest an atmosphere of gloom and helplessness, whereas Mr. Samuel is essentially an optimist, as the title of this novel indicates. In the second place, the bracketing of a contemporary novelist with such a formidable name as Kafka carries with it an invidious connotation which in this case would be unfair to Mr. Samuel, whose supple prose and wry wit are nicely blended with a story-telling gift that is all his own.

As for his parable, which it is difficult

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to discuss adequately without revealing the tricky ending, I have the feeling that it is essentially political. Sertorus, the devil who fails, can never really conquer Cleaver the intellectual; and his dominion over his subjects, maintained by a shrewd combination of hypnotism and bribery, is constantly threatened by the danger that the captive intellectual, his own eyes opened, will succeed in opening the minds and hearts of the devil's subjects.

I am perfectly willing to admit that my interpretation of the parable may be wide of the mark and that other readers may come up with explanations that are either narrower or broader. But this is only proof of the large audience to which Mr. Samuel is entitled, and it constitutes one more reason why he should not be coupled with Kafka, who has unfortunately himself become in a sense the captive of the critics who explicate him to pieces and forewarn the reading public of his profundity and portentousness. For "The Devil That Failed," despite a few arid spots and an ending that is not fully satisfactory in relation to the expectations that have been aroused, is good fun and good reading, and not the least of its merits is the lightness and ease with which it treats symbolically of some very important matters. HARVEY SWADOS

The Uses of Mediation

MEETING OF MINDS. By Elmore Jackson. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $3.50.

HERE is a book which should be within easy reach of everyone, statesman or plain citizen, who is seeking guide lines to world sanity and world peace. "Meeting of Minds" is a study of the use of mediation in the settlement of international disputes. Growing out of the deliberations of a group of people brought together by the American Friends Service Committee, it is the quiet, competent, and persuasive type of statement we have come to expect from the Quakers.

Mr. Jackson, who has recently become associated with Frank Graham, United Nations mediator in the Kashmir dispute, undertook major responsibility for the study. He points out that while a great deal of attention is currently being given to ways in which the legal and political powers of the United Nations can be strengthened, there has been little systematic examination of an equally important and not unrelated activity of the United Nations—the peaceful settlement of disputes—even though the U. N. has registered a fair amount of success over the past four years in this field. He points out further, that in addition to its own and the League's experience in this area, the U. N. has a much larger body of experience to draw upon. The development of vigorous labor movements, at least in the West, in recent decades, has brought about conflict between strongly organized groups whose relationships, like those of nations, are not fully settled by law or contract, and who are unwilling to have their interests subjected to the final and authoritative rulings of some third party. Because of its vital interest in the terms of settlement, each side vigorously protects its freedom of action, even though such action may at times be painful to others. "It is thus that disputes in the two fields are appropriate for the processes of mediation," observes Jackson, "for it is of the essence of a mediated settlement that the parties in conflict, after appraising the available and practicable alternatives, are brought eventually to voluntary agreement."

Mediation of labor disputes, in furtherance of the public interest, has developed along remarkably similar lines in many countries, and a good third of the book is devoted to an analysis of the experience in the United States, Great Britain, and Sweden. There follows a parallel examination of the nature and handling of international disputes and, finally, comparisons and tentative conclusions.

With respect to arrangements, both the type of machinery and the personnel need to be adapted to the particular case, preferably in consultation with the parties concerned. Extended public debate by the parties in conflict tends to increase the difficulty of settlement. The effort must come when both sides are least rigid in their positions. In general, it is desirable to have uninstructed, single mediators, although where a public report is anticipated, a commission may carry more weight.

Given suitable arrangements, the techniques for obtaining agreement are very similar—getting the parties together,

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building confidence in the mediator, the factual deflation of rival claims, the gradual elimination of exaggeration and misunderstanding, widening the perspective in which issues are considered, and finally, expanding the area of agreement until a conclusion is reached, carefully formulated, and registered.

How to proceed with the development of the United Nations mediation machinery? Here, Mr. Jackson and his colleagues hesitate. They would like to see standing agencies there, similar to those now in the labor field, empowered to offer their facilities in disputes even on an informal basis, without the necessity for the prior legislative consideration presently required. But they are not convinced that the time is ripe. More member governments must become committed to the principle and practice of United Nations mediation to assure the success of such an undertaking.

Likewise, they raise serious question as to how far measures of restraint are useful in the settlement of conflicts. Experience in the labor field suggests that, while forceful means may be useful at times in maintaining production, ultimate settlement of even these disputes has had to rely on voluntary agreement. Men cannot be made to work against their will, save by drafting or imprisonment, neither of which is acceptable in a democracy. As the contributors to this volume point out, here is a lesson not to be ignored by the United Nations, and that conclusion is certainly shared by this reviewer. SCOTT KEYES

Time, Space and Poetry

A KEY TO MODERN BRITISH POETRY. By Lawrence Durrell. University of Oklahoma Press. $3.

MR. DURRELL believes that the key to the understanding of modern poetry lies in two scientific ideas which are characteristic of modern thought —the new conceptions of time and of the ego. These contributions, which may be attributed to Einstein and Freud respectively, are far from being universally understood or accepted; they are still doggedly working their way against powerful counter-currents of tradition and misconception. That is why Mr. Durrell devotes so large a portion of a book which is supposed to be about poetry to a lucid and provocative exposition of them. The new conception of time, he explains, posits a combined space-time which is continually in existence. It does not come and go. It endures. Under these conditions nothing is changed when an event occurs, because the event has always been. All periods are simultaneously present, and things continue to exist side by side, even contradictions. Just as Einstein has enlarged the physical world, so have Freud and his followers enlarged the world within. In revealing the nature of the mind's symbolic activity and the jungle of associations which have sprung up about language and tradition, they have offered poets both new authority and new difficulties. Further, the theories of Groddeck, a psychologist who was an associate of Freud, suggest that individual personalities are really parts of a larger whole, the mere functions of a sort of general force which acts through them.

Mr. Durrell's perception of the ways in which poetry reflects these ideas is profound, exciting, and sensitive. The amassing of scraps of history in Eliot's "Waste Land" is a perfectly clear expression of the simultaneity of all time, and a corollary of this idea, the cyclical nature of time, underlies the despair of characters like Prufrock and Gerontion. However, most of Mr. Durrell's insights into the work of such authors as Joyce, Proust, and Rilke are rather sketchily indicated, for it is not his purpose to explain poetry. He has far too much love and respect for it to do that. He simply wants to enable the reader to think about poetry better for himself, and he prefers to pose rather than to solve the interesting problems of sensibility created by the new science.

Mr. Durrell's book suggests that modern poetry is difficult for the same reasons that have caused scientists to abandon the opinions about the universe held by their mid-Victorian forerunners. The more we learn about the world, the fainter grows our hope of absolute knowledge. We are beginning to understand that we shall have to be content with truths rather than truth. Our conception of reality, it seems, will always be provisional, and the indirection, ambiguity, and complexity of poetry in these days are due to the acceptance of this as a fact by poets and scientists alike. JACOB KORG

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Books in Brief

STOLEN JOURNEY. By Oliver Philpot. Dutton. $4.50. Oliver Philpot is one of the R. A. F. men who designed the famous "Trojan Horse" which enabled them to escape from a German P. O. W. camp and make their way to neutral Sweden. The first part of Mr. Philpot's reminiscence, from his crash and capture to the building of the Wooden Horse, covers ground already traversed; but the descriptions of his tense and lonely journey from Sagan Camp to Danzig in the middle of the war, and of his desperate attempt to cross the Baltic Sea in the hold of a Swedish collier, are as gripping as any spy thriller, with the added advantage of being veracious in every detail. The book has interesting maps and line drawings.

THE CRYSTAL YEARS. By Daniel Doan. Abelard Press. $2.95. The simply told story of a boy who moves from Boston to a New Hampshire village and must make his adjustments over the opposition of a snobbish mother and a frosty father. Although he recounts the incidents of puberty episodically in a series of brief discrete chapters and although his subject matter is as old as boyhood, Mr. Doan achieves a degree of individuality by sticking to what he knows best and by avoiding the obviously sentimental.

THE REVOLT OF AMERICAN WOMEN. By Oliver Jensen. Harcourt, Brace. $6. An amusing pictorial hodgepodge highlighting the changing status of women during the last century. Outstanding are a selection of the recently discovered pictures taken during the eighties and nineties by Alice Austen, certainly one of the most extraordinary of American photographers.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

HAVING seen two of the productions of the company of Madeleine Renaud and Jean-Louis Barrault (Ziegfeld Theater) I could wish that it would stay indefinitely. Even if one's French is rusty, one understands quite well enough. After all, pantomime is Barrault's forte, and Madeleine Renaud accomplishes as much by expression and gesture as by the words she speaks. For the rest, the cadence of the language, the finished acting, the stagecraft, and the esprit de corps provide rare pleasures for the ear, the eye—and the spirit.

The first production included "Les Fausses Confidences" and the pantomime 'Baptiste." The performance of the sparkling, brittle—and so easily breakable—comedy seemed to me as nearly perfect as possible, though I did feel that Barrault as Dubois was perhaps a shade too much the clown. Mme Renaud as Araminte, it seemed to me, observed more scrupulously the spirit of the piece. I thought also that there was a bit too much caricature in the portrayal of Madame Argante. The style otherwise was impeccable and the "affair" as a whole delightful.

The pantomime "Baptiste" struck me as a little shop-worn; and it seemed to me also that its mood shifted from ironic to serious romantic and back again, with the result that one did not quite know whether to take it as period piece or as timeless commentary on man's fate.

The second presentation was the play by André Gide and M. Barrault based on Kafka's "The Trial." And given the nature of the subject and the difficulties of adapting it to the stage, this is an extraordinary production. The stagecraft here actually takes part in the performance. It is wonderfully imaginative; it sets the mood irrevocably at the first rise of the curtain; it contributes movement as well as mood. (And it is interesting to observe that the "matériel" of these sets must have cost next to nothing. The main expense was the expense of ingenuity and talent.)

The first part of "The Trial" is swift-moving, dramatic, and utterly convincing. Barrault as K plays the part as if he were indeed the characterless "hero" of the story. One never questions the logic or inevitability or hopelessness of his involvement with the law. The second part is less persuasive. The difficulties inherent in the story take their toll. This part seems over long, confusion enters in, and the tension sags a bit. Moreover, K in rebellion suggests the defiance of the tragic hero rather than the reflex of an organism caught in the toils of a ubiquitous and enveloping system. But I may be mis-remembering the book.

Mme Renaud has only a small part in "The Trial"—that of the advocate's mistress. And she plays, again, with such perfection that I look forward to seeing her in some of her major roles.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE argument for opera in English is that one must understand the dramatic action from word to word as one listens to the music. In the past I have pointed out that the straining to hear the English words in the opera house draws one's attention away from the music; but now that there is televised opera in which one can hear them clearly without effort, the thing to point out is that in most instances the less one understands of the words the better. The fact is that we wouldn't dream of going to a theater to see the plays that are set to music in most of the operatic repertory; that when we accept in the opera house what we would not accept in the theater it is for the sake of the music; and that when this is so a continuing awareness of word after word of, say, "La Forza del Destino" is disturbing to our musical experience as a mere general idea of the dramatic situation is not.

But NBC's televised performance of an abridgement of Britten's "Billy Budd" presented an opera in which the words were not a mere scaffolding for beautiful and expressive melodic structures, but instead the recitative-like vocal line carried and pointed up the words. In this case, therefore, they had to be understood; and they promised to be worth understanding since the libretto was an adaptation of the Melville story made by no less a writer than E. M. Forster in collaboration with Eric Crozier. Actually, however, the adaptation gave us a sequence of mere happenings without the context in the original story which I would suppose provides the sufficient motivation for credibility that it doesn't have in the opera. As a result I watched and listened disturbed by disbelief, and sometimes even by embarrassment. Thus, it is my understanding that Billy in the original story is the embodiment of good; but the Billy in the opera who carolled happily about being impressed into His Majesty's Navy or about his doglike devotion to Captain Vere impressed me as an embodiment of insufficient sense; and this in turn meant that there was no motivation for the evil Claggert.

As for Britten's music, it was impressive at first, and for some time, by its characteristic resourcefulness; but it seemed to me that exuberant resourcefulness unrestrained by a sense of fitness produced Billy's florid singing in his duet with the old sailor; and the resourcefulness proved inadequate to the musical requirements of some of the later dramatic situations—*e. g.*, Captain Vere's thoughts after the killing of Claggert.

The musical performance conducted by Peter Herman Adler was excellent, with fine singing by Theodor Uppman, Andrew McKinley, and Leon Lishner in the leading roles. The dramatic performance too was effective, with only Mr. McKinley, at the close range of television, not commanding my belief. And I might add that I found the confining of the action to the small space disturbing after a while.

The New York City Opera informed us that Bela Balasz's libretto in "Bluebeard's Castle," which it performed for the first time in this country, made of the Bluebeard story something on the high philosophical and psychological level of what Shaw made of the Don Juan legend. If this was achieved in the original Hungarian text it didn't survive translation into the English that could be heard intermittently: mostly "Give me the key" answered by "Judith, do not ask me," with—each time one of the doors was opened—an attempt at high-flown language that fell flat on its face. The words, then, created no dramatic interest in the hour-long opening of the seven doors; nor did Bartok's vocal writing impart to them any musical interest. What *was* interesting was the orchestral part—interesting, for one thing, in its unexpected luxuriance, but also in the dramatic effectiveness of its masterfully contrived sonorities. It was the effectiveness of an orchestral sound-track for a drama that was not created by the singers on the stage; and what the production did was to use this sound-track for an interpolated mimed drama performed by dancers in parallel with the singers. To me the production was an example of the illegitimate use of stagecraft—a razzle-dazzle of dancing (devised by John Butler), scenery and costumes (Rouben Ter-Arutunian), and lighting (Jean Rosenthal)—to create an illusion which would keep the audience from perceiving the absence of the real thing that alone would have justified producing the work. As for performance, the singing of James Pease and Anne Ayars, the dancing of Mary Hinkson and the others, and the orchestra's playing under Rosenstock's direction were all good.

Some of the platforms and steps from "Bluebeard's Castle" were more profitably employed (unless my eye deceived me) in the repetition of "Wozzeck," in

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which, lighted by Jean Rosenthal, they were much more satisfying than the realistic scenery of last year's performances. And the musical performance was the better for the singing that Patricia Neway did this time instead of last year's screaming. But Pease was miscast and ineffective in the title role.

The Little Orchestra Society's opening concert provided me with my first hearing of Mozart's "La Clemenza di Tito," most of which gave me the impression of craftsmanship operating without creative impulse that I get from so much of Bach's music. The outstanding exception was the first-act terzetto *Vengo! aspettate!*, which was made exciting by the singing of Heidi Krall, soprano; Rawn Spearman, tenor; and Norman Farrow, baritone. As a matter of fact the work served as the occasion for excellent singing by all the soloists, who included in addition Shirley Russell, soprano; Frances Bible, mezzo-soprano; and Leopold Simoneau, tenor; and Mr. Spearman's refinement of vocal style and sensitive musical phrasing were a sheer delight. The New Choral Group of Sam Morgenstern sounded raucous to me in loud passages; the playing of the orchestra under Thomas Scherman's direction was an acceptable production of the notes.

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Record Notes

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

BACH: Partita No. 6, and Preludes and Fugues in G Major and Minor from "The Well Tempered Clavier"; Demus (Remington); steady, clear performances; piano sound cold and thin; noisy surfaces.

Sonatas for violin and piano, Nos. 1, 2, 3; Menuhin and Kentner (HMV); Kentner is very weak, Menuhin more powerful but faulty in taste.

Beethoven: "The Creatures of Prometheus"; Van Beinum with the London Philharmonic (London); what ballet music would sound like if it were written by Beethoven—highly enjoyable; superb performance.

Sonata for violin and piano, Op. 47 ("Kreutzer"); Rostal and Osborn (London); good performance except for a fussily arch slow movement.

Violin Concerto; Ricci with London Philharmonic under Boult (London); slack, sugary performance, orchestra poor throughout.

Brahms: Intermezzi, Op. 117; Gieseking (Columbia); very beautiful performance.

Sonata for 'Cello and piano, No. 1; Cassado and Schulhof (Remington); excellent performance; noisy surfaces.

Variations on a theme of Handel; Kilenyi (Remington); Katchen (London); Katchen's mild competence much preferable to Kilenyi's senseless crudity, and much better recorded; Remington surfaces very noisy.

Debussy: Children's Corner Suite; Preludes (Books 1 and 2); Suite Bergamasque; Gieseking (Columbia); all very beautifully performed; somewhat noisy surfaces.

Dvorak: Symphony No. 5 ("From the New World"); Szell with the Cleveland Orchestra (Columbia); good performance.

Hindemith: Sonata for two pianos, four hands; Sonata for one piano, four hands; Karl and Margaret Kohn (Claremont); there are rich passages in both pieces, but both have too their share of dull manipulation; the performances are neat to a fault, lack breadth and power, unfortunately in the best passages; piano sound thin.

Liszt: Mephisto Waltz; Consolation No. 3; Spanish Rhapsody; Sandor (Columbia); effective performances; piano sound glassy.

Schumann: Scenes of Childhood; Gieseking (Columbia); very beautiful performance.

"Carnaval" and Fantasia in C, Op. 17; Brailowsky (Victor); indifferent performances, rhythmically imperceptive.

Symphonic Etudes: Kilenyi (Remington); poor performance.

Sibelius: Symphony No. 1; Collins with London Symphony (London); effective, fairly lurid performance.

Tchaikovsky: "Hamlet" and "1812" Overture; Boult with London Philharmonic (London); good performances.

Weber: Overtures to "Der Freischutz" and "Oberon"; Szell with N. Y. Philharmonic (Columbia); good performances.

Operatic Recital: Baritone arias by Bellini, Donizetti, Leoncavallo, Rossini, Verdi; Petroff with the orchestra of the Maggio Fiorentino under Ghiglia (Remington); poor singing with an execrable orchestra; badly recorded.

Recital by William Warfield (Columbia); works by Schütz, Hammerschmidt, Perotin, and Monteverdi with Tietjen (organ); five ballads by Loewe with Herz (piano); the old music is gloriously rich in rhetoric, the Loewe ballads highly attractive minor genre pieces; Warfield's singing is superb when he isn't tempted to shout.

CONTRIBUTORS

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Letters to the Editors

The Chauvinists Take Over

Dear Sirs: It seems to me that General Eisenhower was elected in an atmosphere of emotionalism and greed. Our "wonderful" American advertising methods put him over. Even so, some 27,000,000 people voted for Governor Stevenson, thus showing their decency and intelligence. The majority fell for the "corn" and the demagoguery, for authoritarianism in preference to humanism. . . .

I believe that the corruption in Washington under this Administration—a sort of personal corruption with men seeking privileges to satisfy their personal greed—will be replaced by an infinitely more dangerous form: corruption for the sake of power. . . . The McCarthys and the Jenners are not so much against communism as they are against a true, liberal democracy. They represent a chauvinistic brand of Americanism that may completely alienate the rest of the free world and throw us into an American fascism no less vicious than its foreign prototype. Of course I do not think General Eisenhower wants this sort of thing, but he represents the powerful elements that do, and I do not believe he will be able to control them. . . . It is the old, old story—humanism versus authoritarianism, individualism versus mass-mindedness. Our hope lies in the millions who voted for Governor Stevenson. ACHSAH VAN SICKLE

San Antonio

Just Deserts

Dear Sirs: Although this was quite a year for campaign buttons, I suppose the Willkie-button parade of 1940 will stand as the high-water mark for years to come. One of those Willkie buttons read, "Perhaps Roosevelt is all you deserve." Shaw once remarked that democracy is that form of government which assures the people of getting just the kind of government they deserve. Perhaps, then, the American people deserve nothing better than Eisenhower, Nixon, Jenner, McCarthy, Potter, Dies, *et al.*

In this age of the "common man," when the electorate was confronted with the uncommon man, a man of astounding capabilities, they rejected him; they did not deserve him. . . . It was not that Stevenson talked over their heads; they could understand the ideas but not the man. To accept greatness a people must have the courage and insight to see their own desires and needs and to recognize the possibility of their fulfilment when they see it. The American people showed everything but greatness in this election.

The defeat of Adlai Stevenson may reveal the level of venality to which Americans have temporarily descended, but the groundwork has been laid for a movement of decency and liberalism which will be brought to fruition faster than most people now realize. It is ironic that the man who tried hardest to unite his party, and whose proponents at the national convention voted to seat the reluctant dragons, should have inadvertently sounded a clarion call for the break-up of the old, meaningless coalitions into a new and meaningful realignment of the political parties. . . .

H. CARL MARKLE, JR

Rochester, Mich.

The Rosenberg Case

Dear Sirs: With genuine gratitude to *The Nation* and Arthur Garfield Hays for lending their prestige to serious discussion of the Rosenberg case (November 8), may I make these two points:

1. Judge Frank's statement—quoted by Mr. Hays—that the Rosenbergs contended that "at the most out of idealistic motives they gave secret information to Soviet Russia when it was our war-time ally" was a gross distortion. From first to last the Rosenbergs' contention was total innocence—a fact Mr. Hays never mentions.

2. Mr. Hays writes: ". . . the fact that they were Communists naturally prejudiced the jury." But this is an assumption, not a fact. No proof was adduced that they were party members; but even if it had been—and supposing that it is, as alleged, the Communist Party's policy to spy for the U. S. S. R. —there was still no proof that the Rosenbergs adhered to this policy or even knew of it. This is "guilt by association" to the *n*th degree—a point I need not labor since your article on the Baltimore Smith act trials in the same issue deals with it so admirably.

No less appalling are the implications of the fact that, while the Rosenbergs were in effect—as words used by judge and prosecutor showed—sentenced to death for treason, they were denied the constitutional safeguards mandatory in treason trials by the trick of calling the charge something else.

Tens of thousands of Americans feel as I do that the measure of justice to be expected by any political nonconformist brought before the courts depends ominously on the fate of the Rosenbergs.

New York CEDRIC BELFRAGE

A Future Course for Liberals

Dear Sirs: The overwhelming defeat of Governor Stevenson should not blind progressives to the role which they can still play in local and national politics.

Their main problem as a political group—unless General Eisenhower surprises them by turning out to be a genuinely liberal leader and thus deserving of their political support—will be to stave off absorption by the recrudescent and vengeful conservative wing of the Democratic Party. The only way they can retain a significant share in the councils of the party is to establish throughout most of the nation a political party parallel to the Democratic Party, like the Liberal Party in New York. The Liberal Party usually indorses Democratic candidates for important offices, but it does not always do so, and its independence must command the respect of even the most practical politician.

This is not a suggestion for a third party as such, or for independent voting. It is a practical proposal for progressives who continue to believe that the Democratic Party is most likely to be sensitive to their requests but that it needs an added incentive in a time of defeat. At the same time it does not preclude their independent political behavior if the Republican Party does become modern.

Boston RUSH WELTER

To Help Malan's Victims

Dear Sirs: It is obvious that a revolution is taking place in South Africa. As one of the younger leaders of the African National Congress, who was recently arrested, wrote: "There has been a transformation in the way of thinking of the Africans. . . . [They] are on the march, and whatever the result of the present defiance campaign, even if it ends in total defeat at the hands of the government, the country will never be the same again."

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resisters against the unjust racial laws of the Malan government have been arrested. This means not only suffering in the overcrowded jails but even greater economic hardships for an impoverished people. The African National Congress is raising a fund to help the families of the men now in jail.

To aid in this work we have formed a committee, Americans for South African Resistance. The Reverend Donald Harrington and the Reverend Charles Y. Trigg are co-chairmen, and the sponsors include Roger Baldwin, Mordecai Johnson, Norman Thomas, and A. J. Muste. The committee's address is 513 West 166th Street, New York 32.

GEORGE M. HOUSER, Secretary,
Americans for South African Resistance
New York

Last Class

Dear Sirs: Dr. Harry Slochower is one of three professors recently dismissed from the tax-supported municipal colleges of New York—in this instance Brooklyn College—for their refusal to answer questions before the McCarran committee bearing on their political beliefs and associations. The following "farewell note" to his students was originally published in the Brooklyn College paper, the *Kingsman,* of October 10.

My sudden dismissal will be a shock to the thousands of students I have had in some twenty-seven years of teaching. It has come unexpectedly to me as well, and I am still at a loss to understand wherein I was considered to be a danger to my students. This much is clear: I was not dismissed for anything I had done. I was not even charged with having held un-American views. I was sacrificed to a formula—the fact that I invoked the Fifth Amendment for the period of the 1930's.

Yet behind the formula stand sinister powers busily exploiting the apathy or the delirium of the hour. As I view the whole procedure, including the board's perfunctory "hearing," I cannot but conclude that neither President Gideonse nor the board members are the active agents. For behind it all I recognize a great fear, the fear that they might be regarded as standing left of Chiang Kai-shek or Rabbi Schultz, that is to say, of being "reds." . . .

Of course, I could have saved my job. I was advised by people who value comfort above human dignity to answer all questions, that is, to "name names," and thus become one of the heroes of our time. This I could not do, even if I were in position to have certain knowledge of "Who's Who" back in the thirties. I could not contribute to wrecking the lives of people who may be innocent and decent. Such an action would have indeed incriminated me—I could not have looked you, my students, or any decent person, in the face. I was advised to recant any opinions I ever held that are today out of vogue. This I could not do, for it would have meant the repudiation of the anti-fascist stand I took during the thirties. I still believe that fascism was then a menace. And the menace is still with us. . . .

This is not a farewell. I am not thinking of the possibility that the courts will reverse the present outrageous ruling. I have something more basic in mind. The critical and spiritual approach which I tried to communicate to you is not merely mine. It springs up wherever there is a genuine search for what may liberate the powers which slumber in man. They lie hidden in all, particularly in those who are young of spirit. It has ever been the despair of the dark forces that no matter how much they destroy, there ever circulates new, fresh blood, as Mephistopheles puts it in Goethe's "Faust." The more rawly, the more monstrously or the more formalistically these forces operate, the more they help to awaken the living conscience and power of man. This ever-renewed conscience of the young is guaranty that such outrage, whether manifested in open terror or hidden behind a rigidly applied formula, will not remain victorious. I am fifty-two, but somehow I feel much younger now, after what has happened. In this sense as well, I shall stay with you.

I hope you can publish the letter or portions of it, as I am sure many of your readers will be interested.

Brooklyn JOHN A. FOSTER

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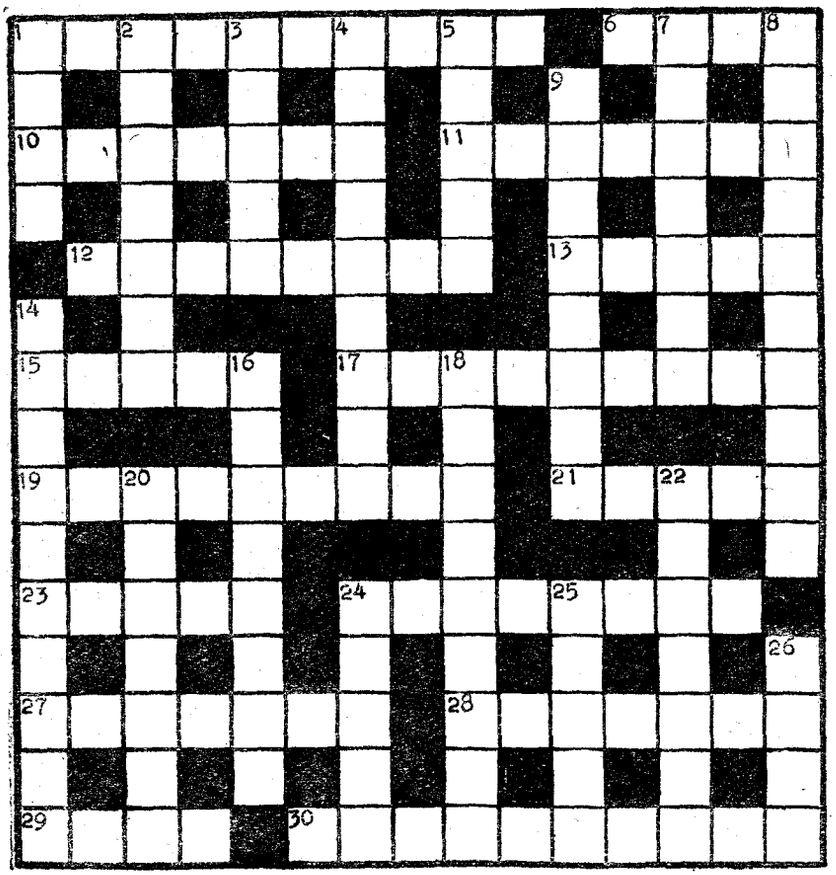
Crossword Puzzle No. 492

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Such a pursuit doesn't allow for much relaxation! (But at least you can look forward to a wake!) (5, 5)
6 From a distance, if not involved in an affair. (4)
10 A bull is seldom so taken to hold back. (7)
11 Draw out, evidently, like a sizeable portion of Louisiana. (7)
12 Explains why some are mad when the dime ante is changed. (8)
13 An arch way to ask for donations! (5)
15 Green players take more than one of these occasionally—as do players not so green! (5)
17 Fancies Mary's dead, perhaps. (9)
19 Sounds like good advice for one whose suit should be pressed, for a sailor who knows all the dodges. (3, 6)
21 Chuck this race as part of a 23, perhaps. (5)
23 See 21. (5)
24 Good material for what Koussevitzky played? Linden, rather. (8)
27 The rotation of a crop is commonplace. (7)
28 One or two, perhaps, might make it green. (7)
29 Indeed if you break it, you haven't lost anything! (4)
30 One might so swear the donkey always dined out of it! (10)

DOWN

1 Found in parts of antique furniture. (4)
2 One might take the pledge to be sober! (7)
3 Sounds like the pronunciation of the city is relative. (5)
4, 20 and 9. Ephemeral? Make the army dodge another one or two. (4, 5, 3, 4, 8)
5 To get such a coloring is easy as pie. (5)
7 Showy and in conclusion a state some of us might be in. (7)
8 Back-sliding, perhaps. (10)
9 See 4.
14 A personal address might imply an omission. (10)
16 Periodical, on sale as something different. (8)
18 A Lancastrian's enemy might be in this, if mercenary. (9)
20 See 4 down.
22 The tail of a midge or the head of a giant touches 7. (7)
24 Starts violently (because someone frightened them?) (5)
25 How 1 across, or just plain one ends? (The answer is flexible.) (5)
26 24 across, for example. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 491

ACROSS:—1 SMALL WONDER; 9 CORNELIA; 11 GRAFTER; 12 AILERON; 14 VERSUS; 15 and 7 OBSTACLE COURSE; 17 BAROUCHE; 20 POTASH; 22 CONTEST; 24 TEMPLAR; 26 PLASMA; 27 OBSESSED; 28 PECK'S BAD BOY.

DOWN:—2 MANIFESTO; 3 LOLLERS; 4 WEAK; 5 NEREIDS; 6 EAGLE; 8 STROLL; 13 and 25 HONEYCOMB; 16 ANTIPASTO; 18 ATOLLS; 19 COSSACK; 20 PRESSED; 21 and 10 STATES RIGHTS; 23 TASTE.

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